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Sex-Role Stereotyping As A Function Of Counselors' Judgments

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SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING AS A FUNCTION OF COUNSELORS' JUDGMENTS

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Sex-Role Stereotyping as a Function of Counselors' Judgments

Abstract of Dissertation

The purpose of this study was to examine counselors' expectations as they pertain to sex-role stereotyping of both males and females. This study represents an attempt to partially replicate the research of Broverman et al. (1970).

The subjects were 120 high school and community college counselors randomly selected from California public schools and 60 counselors-in-training randomly selected from five California public and private universities.

Data were gathered with the Stereotype Questionnaire. It is composed of 38 bipolar items each describing a characteristic attribute of an individual. Each counselor and counselor-in-training completed one of three forms--adult, male, or female. Data were analyzed with a CRF-332 ANOVA. Dunn's multiple comparison procedure and Tukey's a posteriori test statistic were used to test differences between means.

In line with previous research it was expected that counselors would judge the male and the adult ideal standard as highly similar and the female as different. It was expected that counselors-in-training would judge men, women, and adults as similar.

These expectations were not supported. Rather, the data indicated that the female and the adult standard are viewed as not different. The adult, female and male are all described in terms of characteristics located on the same side of each bipolar item. However, it was found that the male is expected to possess some of these characteristics of the adult standard to a significantly higher degree. Further, it was found that counselors and counselors-in-training do not differ in their expectations concerning the characteristics of a healthy, mature, socially competent individual.

It was concluded that counselors at all levels have been flexible in changing their traditionally stereotypic attitudes toward females: therefore, the prospects for changing any stereotypic attitudes counselors may have concerning males is considered favorable.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Maslow's hierarchy can be used to illustratively plot an individual's growth. As advanced technology provides for the basic needs of life, both men and women should be free to advance up the hierarchial ladder in their own unique way. However, with but a brief perusal of the literature it becomes apparent that, for many individuals, the upper rungs of this hierarchy are often blocked by sex-role stereotyping and sexist attitudes.

The women's liberation movement has provided an abundance of literature documenting discrimination against women which has tended to limit their achievement (Huber, 1973). However, sexist attitudes and sex role stereotyping tends to limit not only female potential but also to lock males into inflexible roles and prescribed affective postures. The young lad, for example, who strays from "masculine" pursuits and dares weep when hurt or frustrated is considered a "sissy" and chastised.

Stereotype has been defined "as a fixed standardized conception of the attributes of a class of persons or social values that is not readily modified by evidence of its falsity" (Houseman, 1973, p. 17). That a number of these existing conceptions are falsely based shall be documented in the course of this study. That sex-role stereotyping exists is abundantly documented in the literature (Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman & Broverman, 1968).

According to Komarovsky (1946) "cultural norms are often

functionally unsuited to the social situations to which they apply. Thus they may deter an individual from a course of action which would serve his own, and society's interests best" (p. 184). For example, Rossi (1972) found the reason given most often by college women why they did not choose engineering as a career goal was that they were afraid they'd be considered unfeminine -- in keeping with the cultural norm -- and for the same reason they were discouraged by parents. A study by Rose (1971) which investigated the relationship of sex and occupational choice to personality characteristics revealed that the females' choice of occupation was frequently directed by society's sex-role stereotype and not their personal desires.

Cultural lag may in part explain why societies cling to outmoded beliefs and attitudes not only about females but males also. Lipman (1962) noted that brain power rather than brawn in our technically advanced society generally leads to status and monetary rewards. While our continued existence depends on intellectual values, among the youth, physical prowess and excellence in sports -- rather than intellectual abilities -- are highly prized (Coleman, 1960). The teenage boy is saddled with the old "physical" definition of manliness and masculinity.

For some members of the educational community these outmoded common beliefs may be reinforced by theories included in the course of study. Those theories which may define the counselor's role as helping an individual adjust to the cultural norm, may in part contribute to the cultural lag and stereotypically fix both men and women in limiting positions.

Whatever the reason for its presence, sexism can be found in

many aspects of education. Evidence is seen in 1) children's textbooks (Zimet, 1973), 2) hiring practices (Graham, 1970), 3) achievement tests (Saaro, Jacklin, & Tittle, 1973), 4) various interest and personality tests used in guidance practices (Dunkle, 1973), 5) in teaching techniques (Frazier, 1973), and 6) the attitudes of administrators and support personnel (Jones, 1969). The expressed desires of educators have been to emphasize the individual and to help each student achieve his/her potential; however, until sexism and stereotyping are removed this may not be possible.

The Problem

Sex-role stereotyping is an educational problem currently demanding attention. It has been demonstrated to exist in many facts of education including the field of guidance and counseling. However, little empirical data exist concerning sex-role stereotyping and the function it plays in the counselor's expectation of a healthy, mature, socially competent individual. This then was the specific problem studied.

Purpose of the Study

Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz and Vogel (1970) studied a sample of psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers actively engaged in the counseling process and found that these clinicians' concepts of a healthy, mature adult significantly differed from their concepts of a healthy, mature woman. Further, the traits ascribed to a mature, healthy individual were significantly less likely to be applied to a woman than to a man. In a similar study Garman (1973)

found that a sample of California teachers at the elementary, secondary and university levels also possessed these same attitudes.

In light of these findings and because of the special nature of the counselor's role an examination of counselor attitudes was indicated. Any biases held by counselors about roles which are appropriate for men and women are apt to affect expectations and thus interactions with counselees. Current attention has been focused on sex-role stereotyping as it pertains to females. However, the basic assumption underlying this study was that sex-role stereotyping limits not only female potential and capacities, but also the male's. The purpose of this study was to examine counselors' expectations as they pertain to sex-role stereotyping of both males and females.

Hypotheses and Rationale

In the past, greater social value has been placed on masculine stereotypic characteristics (Lynn, 1959; Sherriffs & Jarrett, 1953). These characteristics have been judged to be the ideal for a healthy, mature, socially competent adult (Rosenkrantz et al., 1968). Although the measure of the healthy, mature, socially competent adult and the healthy, mature, socially competent adult male has been found to be highly similar, the common denominator--adult--had somewhere been lost when applied to the adult female. Past research indicates that the female adult has been judged to be different than the norm for a healthy mature, and socially competent adult (Broverman et al., 1970).

Although counselors should be empathic to individual needs it was hypothesized 1) that the counselors' judgment about the characteristics of a healthy, mature, socially competent adult would also differ

as a function of the sex of the person judged.

With new courses being offered in the universities such as the psychology of sex-differences and the psychology of women it seemed reasonable to expect that counselors-in-training might be more aware of sex-role stereotyping, therefore, it was hypothesized 2) that the judgments of counselors-in-training would differ from those of counselors in the schools.

Previous studies by Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) and Broverman et al. (1970) found no significant differences between men and women on their stereotypic descriptions of adults, adult males, and adult females. Garman (1973) found that female teachers, while also describing women as somewhat less than mature adults, did see women as coming significantly closer to, but not matching, the adult standard than do male teachers. It was also hypothesized 3) that no differences would be found between the sexes of counselors in the schools on these judgments.

By virtue of being students it was assumed that counselors-in-training would be exposed to current research and might be more aware of problems caused by sex-role stereotyping. It was therefore hypothesized 4) that counselors-in-training would be more likely to score the adult, male, and female more nearly alike.

Limitations

Population

A randomly selected sample of California community college and high school counselors and counselors-in-training served as subjects for this study. Generalizations of findings must therefore be limited to this subgroup of California educators.

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study the following terms are used as defined:

Adult: The ideal standard of a healthy, mature, socially competent individual, regardless of sex, whose characteristics were ascribed by majority agreement of counselors in this study.

Androgyny: Andros, a man and gynē a woman. Psychological androgyny is the incorporation of both masculine and feminine personality characteristics (Bem, 1972).

Sexism: A belief that the human sexes have a distinctive makeup that determines their respective lives, usually involving the idea that one sex is superior and has the right to rule the other; a policy of enforcing such asserted rights; a system of government and society based upon it (Shortridge, 1970).

Stereotype: A fixed standardized conception of the attributes of a class of persons or social values that is not readily modified by evidence of its falsity (Houseman, 1973).

Role: A socially prescribed pattern of behavior corresponding to an individual's status in a particular society (Neilson, 1968).

Summary

This introductory chapter has presented the problem, stated the purpose and rationale for the investigation, indicated the limitations and defined terms used.

Four additional chapters complete the remainder of the study. They are as follows: 1) Chapter II: Review of Research Literature,

2) Chapter III: Design and Procedures, 3) Chapter IV: Presentation, Treatment and Analysis of Data, and 4) Discussion and Recommendations for Further Study.

Chapter II

Review of Research Literature

The research concerning sex-role stereotyping is divided into three sections for review in this chapter: 1) The Counselor, 2) Mental Health, and 3) Shifting Views.

The Counselor

Research concerning counselors and sex-role stereotyping is all but absent from the literature. Studies that are to be found are relatively recent with a history shorter than research on sex-role stereotyping in general. Just as sex-role research has concentrated primarily on the female (Hochschild, 1973) so too the majority of studies examining counselors and sex-role stereotyping also centered on the female.

Thomas (1967) studied responses of secondary school counselors in the suburban area of St. Paul, Minnesota. The purpose of this study was to determine whether counselor responses were different for female clients with traditionally feminine (conforming) goals than for traditionally masculine (deviate goals). Thomas found that female counselors were more accepting of both deviate and conforming clients than were male counselors; all counselors rated conforming goals as more appropriate than deviate goals and further; female clients with deviate career goals were perceived as being more in need of counseling than those with conforming goals.

Friedersdorf (1969) also focused on the female. This study was designed to examine secondary school counselors' attitudes toward career planning of high school female students. The subjects were counselors in the Indiana school system. Counselors role-played either a college-bound or noncollege-bound female student and completed the Strong Vocational Interest Blank for Women. Friedersdorf found distinctive attitudes prevailed as to which levels and types of occupations are realistic and appropriate for both college-bound and noncollege-bound girls. College-bound females were seen by male counselors as being associated with traditionally feminine occupations at the semi-skilled level whereas female counselors perceived the college-bound females as interested in occupations requiring a college education. Male counselors saw college-bound females as having positive attitudes toward traditionally feminine occupations regardless of the classification level of the occupation. Female counselors projected women's roles into careers presently occupied predominantly by men; male counselors did not see college-bound females as liking such careers.

In another study concerning the female and the counselor, Pietrofesa and Schlossberg (1970) analyzed the content of interviews between coached clients and counselor trainees and found that when female clients aspired to male dominated vocations, both male and female counselors made more negative statements to such clients than to female clients who had more traditional goals. Further analysis revealed that the negative comments had to do with the masculinity of the occupation chosen by the atypical female client.

Hawley (1970) studied the importance of male opinion in female

career development and life style. Since women are reluctant to engage in behaviors that significant men in their lives view as unfeminine Hawley examined the perception of male attitudes in female counselor students. It was found that counselors felt that their men held a somewhat androgynous view of behavior indicating that they would not impose narrow sex-based behavioral models on their counselees when they go to work.

Pringle (1973) investigated responses of Michigan high school counselors to behaviors associated with independence and achievement in both male and female clients. Pringle hypothesized that if counselors' desire to change client behavior was directly influenced by stereotypic images of sex-appropriate behavior it would be expected that counselors would indicate a greater desire to change client behavior in the traditional directions. The findings indicated that stereotypic images of sex-appropriate behavior were influential. All counselors had a significantly greater desire to change the behavior of the low achieving male client than that of low achieving female clients. Male and female counselors both, however, rejected the norm which supports greater emotional independence in males than females. Male counselors appeared to be more accepting than the female counselor of female dependency, but male counselors were more accepting of dependency in both sexes. Pringle also found that counselors tend to evaluate dependent behavior as more healthy than independent behavior. Female counselors were less accepting than male counselors of male client deviation from traditional sex-role norms and more rejecting than male counselors of female client compliance to traditional sex-role norms.

Summary

The research reviewed tends to indicate that counselors have been influenced by their cultural environment and have demonstrated traditional biases so far as the female is concerned. However, the traditional stereotypic image of appropriate sex roles are presently undergoing rapid change. Although the research is sparse a definite trend can be noted in counselors' expectations of stereotypic female behavior. In the short space of time between Thomas' (1967) study and Pringle's (1973) a shift is detected: whereas Thomas found that female clients with deviate career goals are considered by counselors as being in need of counseling Pringle found that females demonstrating independent and high achievement behavior were rated as healthy.

Conspicuous by their absence are studies focusing on sex-role stereotyping of the male. The women's movement, no doubt, is in large part responsible for presenting problems faced by females as a result of sex-role stereotyping. A flurry of research activity focusing on the female role resulted. One cannot assume, however, that male stereotypic biases have not affected counselors' expectations of male behavior.

Pringle (1973) has noted that all forms of deviance from the norm for sex-appropriate behavior are not equal. Female deviance in the direction of male norms have been more acceptable and less punished by society than male deviance in the direction of female norms. Pringle found more counselor support for independent and high achievement in females than for dependence and low achievement in males.

Evidence indicates that counselor-attitudes about appropriate female sex roles and behavior are shifting to include those once clearly defined as "masculine." We have little evidence that counselors have or

are in the process of making this same shift to include "feminine" roles for males. The present study analyzed the counselors' expectations of the male as well as the female.

Mental Health

Upon examining the literature pertinent to sex roles and mental health one might conclude that there is a strong relationship between the two. The following studies have a direct bearing on aspects of mental health and are directly or indirectly related to sex-role stereotypes.

The first study deals with social desirability and mental health: the second group of studies examine the relationship between anxiety and sex roles. The next group of studies focuses on mental health clinicians' definition of mental health. The study by Gove examines the correlation between sex, mental illness and marital status. A group of studies examining self-concept or self-perception in relation to sex roles follow. Included are two studies of male and female perceptions of the male and the female sex role with implications for mental health. The last three studies are concerned with instrumental and expressive behaviors and consequences in terms of psychopathology or adjustment.

Social Desirability

In a study designed to examine the relationship between social desirability and mental health in personality assessment, Kogan, Quinn, Ax, and Riley (1957) found that a high degree of correlation did exist (.89) and concluded that health-sickness (emotional) and social

desirability variables studied were essentially the same variable. They further concluded that personality assessments may be based more on cultural stereotypes than on factors related to kinds of people.

These findings were based on the data provided by Q sorts of 24 hospitalized adult male psychiatric patients and 24 male university students screened and assessed as free from psychiatric difficulties. Six clinicians served as judges in classifying each item as to its personality variable. They also sorted the Q array with respect to the health-sickness and social desirability variables. By examining the various ratings of the sick and healthy groups, by comparing them with each other and further by partialing out the effect due to social desirability the investigators were able to assess what portion of the variance actually was determined by personality variables.

The variable described as health-sickness in this research was found to be indistinguishable from attributes described as social desirability in several other studies (Edwards, 1953, and Fordyce, 1956).

In the present study counselors were asked to describe a healthy, mature, socially competent individual based on the assumption that the characteristics of each of the three components were also characteristics of the other. This study by Kogan et al. lends support for this assumption.

Anxiety and Sex Roles

Gray (1957) studied the relationship between sex-appropriate behavior in children and indices of adjustment. Based on Mead's (1935) assumption that the constructs we call "masculinity" and "femininity"

are culturally determined Gray obtained the opinion of the subjects' peers as an index of sex-appropriate behavior. These opinions were the bases of the masculinity-femininity scale devised by the investigator.

Two other instruments were also used in this research; Costenada, McCandless, and Palermo's form of the Children's Manifest Anxiety scale and the Who Are They, a social acceptance test. The subjects studied were middle class sixth and seventh grade boys and girls from a laboratory school.

Gray found that, for this population, high anxiety was associated with a high level of sex-appropriate behavior. This was true for boys as well as girls. For boys the higher the level of sex-appropriate behavior the higher the level of social acceptance, however for girls sex-appropriate behavior was not associated with the amount of social acceptance she received.

Several conclusions can be derived from this research. For girls the social consequences of being a tomboy or a "young lady" are about the same. Sex-appropriate roles for girls lack consistency in social acceptance and thus the girl has wider latitude in developing a sex role. Sex roles for boys, as defined by social acceptance, are much clearer and consistent. The boy who does not follow the "masculine" pattern meets with less tolerance than the girl who deviates from the "feminine" pattern. For middle class children, high anxiety was found to be correlated significantly more with sex-appropriate behavior than low anxiety.

Although Gray stated an interest in "indices of adjustment" and sex-appropriate behavior she failed to indicate which of the variables studied were indices of adjustment. Was the male with sex-appropriate

behavior and highly anxious well adjusted or the male with inappropriate behavior and less anxious? Perhaps the concept of "adjustment" needs to be defined.

In a study very similar to Gray's (1957), Webb (1963) explored the relation between sex-appropriate role preference and several indices of adjustment in middle class seventh, eighth, and ninth grade boys and girls. The three instruments used in this study were the Femininity (Fe) Scale of the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), the Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale, and Cunningham's Classroom Social Distance Scale. Webb examined only the 20 percent extremes of his population which represented the variables under study.

There was no clear cut relation found for boys between anxiety and sex-appropriate role preference. There was, however, an interaction between anxiety and age. At the seventh grade level there was no difference between high and low anxiety boys; at the eighth grade level low anxiety was associated with masculinity; and at the ninth grade level low anxiety was associated with femininity. For girls Webb found, as did Gray, that high anxiety was associated with a high level of femininity. Webb's assumption that the early adolescent male would enhance his adjustment by adapting a masculine sex role was not entirely supported.

Cosentino and Heilbrun (1964) studied anxiety correlates of sex-role identity in college students. Eighty-five males and 156 females were administered the Adjective Check List (ACL) (Gough and Heilburn), Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale (MAS) and an 80-item aggression questionnaire developed by Sears. In analyzing data the researchers used *t* tests to study the differences between means.

Cosentino and Heilbrun found greater femininity, as defined on the ACL, was associated with greater aggression anxiety for both males and females. They also found that more feminine males and females were more manifestly anxious. These findings were similar to those reported by Sears (1961) for 12 year old children.

In an effort to add support to Cosentino and Heilbrun's (1964) findings, Gall (1969) studied the relationship between masculinity-femininity (MF) and manifest anxiety. Gall correlated a different measure of MF with a shortened version of the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale (MAS). Data were obtained from the MAS and MF scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI). The OPI was completed as a routine orientation by 2196 freshmen from the University of California, Berkeley in 1966.

Gall's findings not only supported Cosentino's and Heilbrun's but were very similar. Gall found a correlation of -.35 for males and -.27 for females between the MAS and MF while Cosentino and Heilbrun found -.33 for males and -.28 for females using a different MF measure. "Thus, the findings of both studies," the investigators concluded,"indicate that more feminine males and females admit to a higher level of anxiety than their less feminine sex-peers" (p. 295).

Harford, Willis, and Deabler (1967) studied the relationship between masculinity-femininity (MF) and personality variables. Adult males from semi-professional occupations served as subjects. The MF scale of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB), Cattell's 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire (16PF) and the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values were used to test the hypothesis that MF is correlated with personality. The MF scale of the SVIB and the General Aptitude

Test Battery (GATB) were used to determine whether or not MF was differentially related to general aptitudes.

The researchers presented a table of intercorrelations but provided no other information on how data were analyzed. Harford et al., on the basis of their findings, concluded that for the males they studied high scores on the MF scale--masculinity--were associated with personality variables of aloofness, toughness, a practical concern with facts, unpretentiousness, suspiciousness, a tough poise, and theoretical and economic values. High scores were also associated with emotional dissatisfaction, guilt proneness, anxiety, and neurotic tendencies. Low MF scores--femininity--were associated with warmth, sensitivity, Bohemianism, sophistication, acceptance, responsive emotionality, and aesthetic values.

Evidence was found that MF was related to dimensions of intelligence and aptitude. Femininity in these males was associated with brighter mental capacity, verbal skills, and with motor coordination. Masculinity was correlated with manual dexterity.

The researchers were unable to determine to what extent these correlations stemmed from situational demands as opposed to conflict in sex-role identity. They suggested that conscious assessments of MF might reflect masculine overcompensation (sex-role conflict) to the extent that the subjects literally chose responses related to socially defined sex-role attitudes and attributes. To correct for situational factors they suggested the incorporation of occupational and socio-economic indices. Also conscious and projective measures of MF might provide a more adequate assessment of that factor. (This problem is also discussed by Nichols, 1962 and Lunneborg, 1970.)

Gotts and Phillips (1968) also studied the relation between anxiety and masculinity-femininity. Not finding a suitable measure of MF for children, Gott wrote a research instrument, the Pupil Perception Test (PPT). The subjects were fifth graders: 60 girls and 57 boys. They represented five ethnically diverse schools: Negro, Latin, lower class Anglo, middle and upper class Anglo, and a mixture of the first three. In addition to the PPT all subjects completed the Children's School Questionnaire (CSQ). It was found that the PPT did differentiate between males and females and further that the difference between the sexes was approximately equal within each school.

The major finding of this study was a highly significant relation between MF and anxiety for boys, i.e., low masculine boys were more anxious, whereas these variables were unrelated for girls. The investigators interpreted this finding as supporting Sarason's (1960) report that high and low anxiety girls are not so different as high and low anxiety boys. They attribute the difference between high and low anxiety boys as a failure of the former to develop appropriate sex-typed behavior. Attainment of appropriate sex-typing for girls was not considered as crucial.

Clinicians' Definition of Mental Health

In searching the literature and failing to find a satisfactory definition of normality Neulinger (1968) designed a research project to provide an operational definition of mental health. The subjects for this study were two populations of mental health personnel, one from the United States, the other from Czechoslovakia. A questionnaire developed by Stein, consisting of 20 paragraphs each describing one of

Murray's manifest needs, was used to describe the optimally integrated person (OPI). The subjects ranked the paragraphs from most descriptive of the OIP to least. The U.S. sample completed separate forms for male and female OIP; the Czech sample completed a single sex-unspecified form.

Differences in ranking were analyzed with *t* tests. Results indicate that, at least in the United States, distinct conceptions of "mental health" exist for males and females (Table 1). Major sex differences are seen in needs for Harmavodiance, Deference and

TABLE 1

OIP Profiles as Perceived by U.S. and Czech Mental Health Personnel

Need	Male OIP Mean rank United States Sample	Female OIP Mean rank United States Sample	OIP Mean rank Czech Sample
Sex	3.4	3.1	7.7
Affiliation	3.7	2.7	1.6
Dominance	4.8	9.8	15.6
Achievement	4.8	8.5	6.6
Sentience	5.9	4.8	5.9
Nurturance	5.9	4.1	4.7
Counteraction	6.1	8.0	7.0
Play	7.0	6.1	3.7
Autonomy	9.7	11.1	6.5
Order	10.4	9.9	9.9
Succorance	10.9	7.9	11.0
Exhibition	11.6	11.6	13.1
Deference	13.5	11.4	11.3
Rejection	14.4	15.2	14.5
Harmavoidance	14.4	12.6	12.8
Aggression	15.0	17.2	16.5
Defendance	15.6	16.1	14.9
Blamavoidance	16.9	15.9	11.8
Infavoidance	17.0	16.1	16.7
Abasement	18.9	17.0	18.3

Succorance which are ranked higher for the female than male OIP. Need for sex is perceived as the characteristic feature of the male and ranks

second for the female. The investigators concluded that the sex orientation of our society is not only shared but also promoted by clinical personnel.

The Czech OIP profile reflects an orientation toward people emphasizing a playful, esthetic attitude that is both supportive yet autonomous. Less emphasis was placed on aggression and dominance; a degree of deference was acceptable.

Neulinger's (1968) research is important to the present study in that it may be plausible to assume that California counselors share the orientation of mental health clinicians in the United States.

The Broverman et al. (1970) study has become a classic and is cited in the literature repeatedly (Bem, 1972; Bardwick, 1972; Garman, 1973; Lewilles et al., 1973; Kahn and Leigh, 1974). Because of its importance and the implications it holds for educators, this study was selected for replications, with modifications, by the present investigator.

Broverman et al. found ample evidence in the literature supporting the existence of sex-role stereotypes and that stereotypically masculine traits were more often perceived as socially desirable than were attributes which were stereotypically feminine. The literature also revealed that the social desirabilities of behaviors were positively related to clinical ratings of these same behaviors in terms of "normality-abnormality," "adjustment," and "health-sickness."

These investigators hypothesized that clinical judgments about the traits characterizing healthy, mature individuals would differ as a function of the sex of the person judged. They further hypothesized that these judgments would parallel previously noted sex-role stereotypes.

Subjects for this study were 79 clinically-trained psychologists, psychiatrists, or social workers. All subjects were actively functioning in clinical settings.

Data were gathered with the Stereotype Questionnaire using three sets of instructions, "male," "female," and "adult." The "male" instructions stated, "Think of normal, adult men and then indicate on each item the pole to which a mature, healthy, socially competent adult man would be closer." The subjects were asked to look at opposing poles of each item in terms of directions rather than extremes of behavior.

Data were analyzed by calculating the proportions of subjects marking each pole of each item. These constituted agreement scores. Agreement scores for male and female instructions were compared to agreement scores on adult instructions. A z test was performed on the means to determine whether there were any significant differences on agreement by clinicians on the behaviors and attributes which characterize a healthy man, woman, or adult.

The adult instructions provided the standard for "health scores." That pole of an item marked by the majority of subjects within the adult instructions was taken as the standard against which a masculine and feminine health score was determined. Differences between masculine and feminine health scores were analyzed with a t test. Differences between adult agreement scores and masculine and feminine health scores were also analyzed with t tests.

The results of these analyses indicated high agreement existed among clinicians as to the characteristics of a healthy adult, a healthy man and a healthy woman. The results further supported the hypotheses

that clinicians have different concepts of health for men and women and that these differences parallel the sex-role stereotypes prevalent in our society. They found that clinicians' concept of a mature, healthy man and adult do not differ significantly, however, their concept of a mature, healthy woman did differ significantly from their concept of a healthy adult. The investigators found that:

> clinicians are more likely to suggest that healthy women differ from healthy men by being more submissive, less independent, less adventurous, more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, more excitable in minor crises, having their feelings more easily hurt, being more emotional, more conceited about their appearance, less objective, and disliking math and science. This constellation seems a most unusual way of describing any mature, healthy individual (p. 5).

The present research was modified to permit the investigation of extremes of behaviors as well as direction as directed by Broverman et al. Further, data were analyzed with an analysis of variance and differences between means examined with a preplanned multiple comparisons procedure.

Lewittes, Moselle, and Simmons (1973) studied sex-role biases in clinical judgments based on Rorschach interpretations. The subjects were 22 male and 22 female clinicians randomly chosen from the 1970 APA Directory. They were selected from entries indicating projective tests as one of their areas of interest. Each of the subjects received the same Rorschach protocol, half designated as that of a 26 year old male and half as a 26 year old female.

No differences were found between male and female raters in judging degree of pathology or intellectual functioning. Sex bias, however, was found in clinical judgments: both sexes tended to be biased in favor of their own sex. Females were found to be more severe in

rating males than females. It was also found that male clinicians seemed to have lessened their negative female bias (as compared to Broverman et al., 1970), while female clinicians seemed to have changed in the direction of profemale bias.

Marital Status and Mental Health

Gove (1972) and Gove and Tudor (1973) studied the relationship between sex roles, marital status and mental illness. Data were obtained from 17 studies conducted after World War II in industrial societies. Only those studies which presented the relationship between sex, marital status, and mental illness were included. Additional data were provided by a 25 percent sample of all mental hospital residence in the United States at the time of the 1960 census.

Data were analyzed according to 1) rates of mental disorders among married men and women, 2) rates of mental disorders among men and women who have never been married, 3) rate of mental illness of the never married divided by the rate of mental illness of the married, 4) rates of mental disorders among men and women who were once married but are no longer married, 5) rate of mental illness of the former married divided by the rate of mental illness of the married, and 6) rates of residency in mental hospitals.

Results of these analyses indicate that married women tend to have much higher rates of mental illness than married men. However, women do not tend to have higher rates than males when single men are compared to single women, divorced men with divorced women, and widowed men with widowed women. For these categories women tend to have lower rates. The investigators concluded that the role explanation accounts

for the differences between the sexes. They offered five hypotheses defining the role problem. 1) Women generally occupy one major social role--housewife--whereas the married man has two--his family and his work. Should the male become dissatisfied with one role he can focus on the other. The housewife typically has no major alternative source of gratification. 2) Many women find housekeeping frustrating. The technically undemanding position is not consonant with the educational and intellectual attainment of a large number of married women. 3) The housewife's role is relatively unstructured and invisible permitting her to perform poorly. This also allows her to brood over her troubles and her distress may thus feed upon itself. The jobholder, however, must consistently meet demands to be involved with his environment thus drawing his attentions away from his problems. 4) When the married woman works she is often found in positions below her educational background and usually considered as supplementing the family income. This involvement is tenuous. The working wife usually has full responsibility for household chores and puts in considerably more hours of work per day than their husbands. 5) The woman's expected role is unclear and diffused. Men perceive their career in terms of their own needs whereas women perceive their career in terms of what men do. One of the most serious problems married women face is finding something meaningful to do after their children grow up.

For singles, it has been found that women holding jobs are as satisfied with their work as men who hold jobs. Further, single women have a tendency to form and maintain close interpersonal ties, while single men are more prone to be independent and isolated. Single women are more likely to turn to others during unhappy periods than are

single men.

In summary the investigators state:

> The married of both sexes have lower rates of mental illness than the unmarried. This relationship would appear to be due to both the nature of the roles of the married and the unmarried and to selective processes which kept unstable persons from marrying. When we look at the differences between the sexes it appears that, at least in terms of mental illness, being married is considerably more advantageous to men than it is to women, while being single is, if anything, slightly more disadvantageous to men than to women" (Gove, 1973, p. 43).

Self-Perception and Sex Roles

Rosenkrantz, Bee, Vogel, Broverman, and Broverman (1968) studied the relationship of self-concept to differentially valued sex-role stereotypes in male and female college students. The Stereotype Questionnaire used in the present study was developed as a result of the research by Rosenkrantz et al. (See Chapter III for detailed information concerning this questionnaire). In this original research the subjects filled out the questionnaire three times. The first two times the questionnaire was completed under Male and Female directions and the third time they marked what they themselves were like. This yielded a masculine, feminine and self-concept score for each subject. The questionnaires were scored as described above (Broverman et al., 1970).

The researchers found that the results supported three general assertions: 1) Sex-role stereotypes were clearly defined and held in agreement by both college men and college women. 2) Both college men and women agreed that a greater number of the characteristics and behaviors stereotypically associated with masculinity are socially more desirable than those associated with femininity. 3) The self-concepts of college men and women were very similar to the respective stereotypes.

They concluded that the factors which produced the incorporation of the female stereotype along with its negative valuation into the self-concept of the female subjects must be enormously powerful. This conclusion was based on the fact that these college women were enlightened, highly selected girls who typically more than held their own intellectually vis-a-vis boys.

Vavrick and Jurick (1971), building on Sheerer's (1949) findings of a high correlation between a person's attitude toward self and his attitude toward others, studied the relationship between the males' attitudes toward self and females.

Male upperclass and graduate students served as subjects. Ten TAT cards were scored for self-concept and attitude toward wife-character. The female could be viewed as a person, as somewhat stereotyped, or as a sex object. Interscorer reliability coefficient was .65 for self-concept and 1.0 for attitude toward females. The data indicate a high relationship between self-acceptance and other acceptance. Ninety-four percent of the males with good self-concepts thought of females as persons or somewhat stereotyped, while 85 percent of those with poor self-images thought of females as sex objects and none saw them as persons.

The implications for mental health counseling are clear. The male who views women as sex objects may also suffer from a low self-image. Should Vavrick and Jurick's data based on college students be generalizable to a population similar to Neulinger's (1968) clinicians then the impetus for the present study becomes stronger.

Steinmann and Fox (1966) and Steinmann, Fox, and Forkas (1968) conducted two studies, one on male and female perceptions of the female

role and the other of male and female perceptions of male sex roles. The first study included 837 women and 423 men from a wide variety of backgrounds. Age ranges were from late teens through the seventies with the majority under age 40.

The Inventory of Feminine Values was used. This instrument contains 34 statements each of which expresses a particular value or value judgment related to women's activities and satisfactions. One half of the items delineated a self-achieving woman who considers her own satisfactions equally important with those of her husband and family and wishes opportunities to realize any latent talents. The other items delineate a family-oriented woman whose satisfactions come second after husband and family, and who sees her responsibilities as taking precedence over any potential personal occupational activity. The subjects indicated agreement on a five-point scale.

Females responded to three forms of the inventory; how they themselves felt, how their own ideal woman felt, and how they thought men would want women to respond. Men responded to the items as their ideal woman would.

Responses were analyzed in terms of percentage of same and different modal response. Results indicate that most women delineated a self-perception relatively balanced between strivings of self-realization, development, and achievement via extrafamily strivings and self-realization and fulfillment by indirection, through other-achieving or intrafamily strivings. The women's ideal woman was slightly more active than the self, however very similar and also balanced between self- and other-achieving strivings. The women's perception of man's ideal woman was a woman significantly more accepting and permissive of

a subordinate role in both personal development and in her place in the familial structure.

The ideal woman delineated by men is a woman relatively balanced between active and permissive elements. The ideal woman men delineated was not significantly different from the woman's own self-perceptions.

Steinmann and Fox concluded that from the viewpoint of American women, American men desire a type of woman that women had no wish to be. The discrepancy is so great as to imply that more than a lack of understanding is involved, but a real lack of communication between men and women.

The second study focused on the male. The Inventory of Male Values was used. This form, as the one for the female, permitted an analysis in terms of strength of agreement to intrafamily and extrafamily items. The respondent could delineate a family oriented man who seeks no status or position outside the family or a self-achieving man who considers his own satisfactions of prime importance. The subjects were 441 males and 633 females with a wide variety of backgrounds. The men answered three forms; self-perception, their ideal man, and responded how they thought a woman would answer in terms of her ideal man. Women responded first in terms of their ideal man and second how they thought men would answer the inventory.

Data for this research were treated as were data for the first study.

Male self-perception was relatively balanced between the two extremes of the inventory. Their ideal man was significantly more active and self-assertive than they saw themselves. The male's perception of woman's ideal man was significantly more family oriented than either the

male's self-perception or his ideal man.

The woman's ideal man was significantly more self-oriented than man's self-perception, however, almost identical to the ideal which men described for themselves. Women's perceptions of how men would describe themselves was the most clearly self-oriented perception of all. They saw their ideal man as functioning on the active, assertive side for the inventory but believed men wished to be more so.

These two studies taken together reveal that both sexes had the same ideal image, yet neither sex had an accurate perception of how the other felt. The family oriented position men believed women desired and the self-oriented assertive position women described as an ideal were each equal distant from man's self-perception. The researchers concluded that this is evidence that sex-role confusion is as real for males as has been attributed to females. They suggest the preoccupation in recent years with role confusion of women as they move into new areas of interests and activities has ignored a comparable confusion in males.

From a mental health standpoint a communications link needs to be established between the sexes. The counselor needs be aware of his/her biases and attitudes should he/she wish to facilitate such communication. The present study sought to provide such information.

A study by Spence and Helmreich (1972), although of a different nature than Steinmann et al., offers support for their findings.

Spence and Helmreich studied the preferences of college men and women for four types of female; masculine-competent, masculine-incompetent, feminine-competent, and feminine-in-competent. A young woman role-playing all four of the feminine types, was videotaped. Her dress, makeup and voice tone were the same in all four conditions. She played

the part of an applicant being interviewed for a position and was seen relating her academic and personal achievements.

A 2x2x2 ANOVA (sex of subject, competence, and role congruity) was used to analyze the data. The results indicated that both males and females found the masculine-competent female more likable than her feminine counterpart, and also liked the masculine-incompetent female better than her counterpart. The masculine female was also described as better adjusted, more intelligent and more sincere.

Lunneborg's (1970) study demonstrated the impact of stereotyped notions about sex differences on objective personality scales and proposed an alternate method of measuring MF. The researcher compared perceived sex differences in personality with acknowledged sex differences. Lunneborg built on Nichols' (1962) work and used his definitions of obvious, subtle, and stereotype MF. Obvious and subtle MF items are found in "true" MF; stereotype MF was defined as any trait on which sex differences are only believed or judged to exist and are not "true," i.e., confirmed in self-description.

The experimental subjects for this study were 398 male and female college students. Data obtained from the 532 students of the normative sample for Edwards Personality Inventory (EPI) were also used. The experimental group was divided into two groups: Male instructions and female instructions. The experimental subjects were instructed to complete the EPI, not as if they were assessing themselves, but as they predicted most men or women would describe themselves. To test the experimental instructions, each of the 14 scales of the EPI were analyzed with a 2x2 ANOVA. Individual t tests were performed between instructional sets within each sex as well as between the sexes within

each instructional set.

The differences between means of the normative sample (subjects described themselves) and the experimental sample revealed that whereas between-sex differences were obtained on eight scales when subjects described themselves, sex differences appeared on 13 scales as a result of stereotype instructions. Stereotyped responding not only exaggerated existing sex differences but created differences which males and females did not normally acknowledge. It was also found that males describe females in exactly the same way as females described other females, and vice versa.

Lunneborg concluded that what is being measured by typical objective MF scales is determined in part by stereotyped notions of sex-differences. She suggested that assessment of MF would be enhanced by a correction factor such as is employed in the MMPI.

The present study assessed stereotyped notions that might exist for California counselors in much the same manner. A comparison was made of counselors' descriptions of an Adult to their descriptions of Men and Women.

Adjustment and Instrumental and Expressive Behaviors

Mussen (1961, 1962) reported on two studies assessing the long term consequences of masculine sex-typing in adolescence. Data for Mussen's first study were gathered from existing data collected over a twenty year period. The subjects had provided data for a number of investigators working at the Institute of Human Development at the University of California at Berkeley. Additional data for the second study were obtained from intensive interviews of 26 of the original

subjects some twenty years after the initial testing. These 26 subjects represented the high and low extreme of the distribution of masculinity of interests.

Masculinity of interests for males was determined from diverse sources: a series of personality tests administered during the boys' senior year in high school and again 16 years later, ratings by trained observers from the Adolescent Growth Study staff, results of sociometric questionnaires, responses to the TAT, the University of California Inventory, the CPI, and the Edwards' Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS).

For his studies Mussen defined high masculinity of interests as associated with instrumental characteristics such as adequacy, achievement needs, and control. Low masculinity of interests was defined as associated with emotional-expressive qualities such as affection, dependence, and gregariousness.

Mussen hypothesized that highly masculine adolescent boys were more emotionally and socially better adjusted than low masculine boys. He also hypothesized that a high degree of appropriate sex-typing during adolescence would be more closely related to adequate personal and social adjustment in adulthood than would a low degree of masculine sex-typing during this period.

The findings of the first hypothesis were clear. Adolescent boys who were strongly identified with the male sex role were also more likely to be more stable emotionally and better adjusted socially than boys who were low in masculinity.

The findings of the second hypothesis yielded inconclusive and seemingly contradictory results. Adult men who had scored high on masculinity as adolescents scored lower than the other group on CPI

scales assessing aspects of the instrumental role: Dominance, Capacity for Status and Self-Acceptance. Also on the EPPS the high masculinity adolescent group scored higher in need Abasement. Edwards defines this as feeling guilty after a wrongdoing, accepting blame when things go wrong, feeling the need for punishment for wrongdoing, feeling depressed by inability to handle situations and to feel inferior to others.

Mussen also found in his first study that:

> certain motivational and behavioral characteristics generally regarded as distinctive elements of masculine behavior--e.g., high achievement and aggression needs--were not found to be more typical of those with highly masculine interests than those low in masculinity of interests (p. 18).

Mussen's (1962) second study further explored the second hypothesis to clarify the confounding issues. He found that degrees of masculinity of adolescent interests were more highly correlated with adolescent personality structure than with adult adjustment status. During adolescence the highly masculine boys gave more evidence of positive self-concept and high levels of self-confidence and were regarded by others as more carefree, happier, and smoother in social functioning.

These statements did not apply when they became adults. In reference to adults classified as highly masculine adolescents Mussen wrote:

> The interviewers' ratings showed that they were also lacking in leadership qualities...as less "self-accepting of both positive and negative qualities" than the other group and more likely to "distort (their) personal qualities". ...The feelings of self-depreciation and inadequacy among the originally highly masculine subjects indicate that the self-evaluations of this group have changed markedly by adulthood (p. 438).
>
> By contrast the low masculine group improved markedly as they

grew older. As adults they were relatively more self-accepting, self-confident and demonstrated more leadership characteristics and greater "capacity for status."

Mussen concluded that high masculine identification during adolescence was conducive to development of feelings of adequacy and contentment at that time but was insufficient to ensure enduring favorable consequences. "It appears that the development of strongly masculine interests, if unaccompanied by certain social characteristics, may have some deleterious long-range results" (Mussen 1962, p. 439).

Whereas Mussen examined instrumental-expressive behavior in males, Heilbrun (1968) examined these attributes in females in relation to psychopathology.

Subjects for this study were 55 college undergraduates. Thirty of the girls were considered well adjusted by the investigator, the remaining 25 were clients of the Psychological Center having sought services related to personal-adjustment problems. The Adjective Check List (ACL) was used to assess MF and 15 Murray-type needs.

The well adjusted girls were rated by peers as to instrumentalness and expressiveness. These ratings were analyzed together with the MF scores with a 2x2 ANOVA. Several significant findings emerged. Masculine girls were considerably more instrumental than feminine girls, however, there was no significant difference between masculine and feminine girls on expressiveness.

In comparing the MF scores of the adjusted group to the MF scores of the other group it was found more masculine college girls are better adjusted than more feminine girls. There were differences between maladjusted masculine girls and their better-adjusted counterparts. The

better-adjusted masculine girls were more need achieving, dominant, enduring and exhibitionistic and less succorant and abasing than the maladjusted masculine girl.

Heilbrun concluded that the

> greater probability of finding a combination of goal directedness and interpersonal sensitivity in the masculine girl offers an obvious reason why they should tend to be more effective and thus better adjusted than the feminine girls (p. 134).

Summary

Before drawing any conclusions based on the foregoing research a number of cautionary comments must be introjected. First, few of the researchers reported here defined the terms used in their reports. Of course everyone can define "masculinity" and "femininity;" or can they? Gray (1957) defined them in terms of what they meant to her population. For Webb (1963), Cosentino et al. (1964), Gotts et al. (1968), and Gall (1969) "masculine" and "feminine" are what MF test measure. Other researchers (Stanek, 1959; Barrows and Zuckerman, 1960; and Bott, 1970) however, have found that various measures of masculinity-femininity, though purporting to measure the same trait, nevertheless fail to do so consistently. Mussen (1961, 1962) found his instrumental-expressive definition did not hold up under study.

Mental health is another term vaguely defined as "adjustment," "low anxiety," "social desirability," and behaviors and attributes ascribed to "normal" individuals by clinicians in the mental health field.

The methods used to analyze the data must also be cautiously inspected. Several reports (Harford, 1967; Gall, 1969) lacked enough

detail to judge their analysis. A number of the researchers employed the t test to analyze their data. The majority of those who did, reported more than two comparisons with the t test. Hays (1963) cautions:

> Such t tests carried out on all pairs of means must necessarily extract redundant, overlapping, information from the data, and as a result a complicated pattern of dependency must exist among the tests. ...there is little to recommend such multiple t test procedure (pp. 375-376).

Several researchers used subjects from existing classrooms, others used only college students thus reducing the generalizability of their findings.

One further caution must be stated. Several of the studies (Gray, 1957; Mussen, 1962; Webb, 1963) only examined the extremes of their populations, ignoring the "normal" or "average" middle group. Thus we can learn what the extreme groups are like but we do not know how, or if they do differ from the "average" group.

Although the foregoing limitations must be considered several overall conclusions can be noted. 1) Those characteristics considered to be socially desirable are also the same characteristics describing mental health. 2) There appears to be a concensus that high levels of "femininity" in females is related to anxiety and poor "adjustment". No such clear cut conclusion can be made concerning males. Anxiety in males has variously been related to: high levels of sex-appropriate behavior (Gray, 1957; Mussen, 1961; 1962; Harford et al., 1967); age (Webb, 1963); and to femininity (Cosentino et al., 1964; Gotts et al., 1968; Gall, 1969). These findings may indicate that the "masculine" role is not as sharply defined as we have previously assumed. Evidence to support this notion was provided by Steinmann et al. (1961, 1962).

3) Neulinger (1968) and Broverman et al. (1970) found that clinicians held distinct conceptions of "mental health" for males and females. The male role was defined as the dominant one and the female's role tended to be more submissive in our society. Lewittes et al. (1973) found a lessening of clinicians negative judgments concerning females and an increase of female bias against males.

4) The findings of Gove et al. (1973) may be paraphrased in the words of the surgeon general and in the words of a well known advertisement. First, concerning women: "Warning: Gove et al. have determined that marriage may be dangerous to your mental health." Second, concerning men: "Try it, you'll like it."

5) Sex-role stereotyping is a factor affecting self-concept and also one's attitude toward others. Further, stereotyped notions about sex differences confound objective measures of MF.

In summary mental health and social desirability appear to be highly correlated with "masculine" sex-roles; "feminine" sex-roles are viewed as less desired and less conducive to mental health. These findings are not without contradiction, however. The present study examined California school counselors' judgments concerning these factors.

Shifting Views

The majority of the earlier studies as well as many of the later ones examining sex-role behavior all have at least one thing in common, the implicit assumption that acquiring an "appropriate" sex role--the earlier the better--is a desirable process. The first group of studies presented here pertain to children and are concerned with measuring how well children have adopted the "appropriate" sex role. These early

researchers experienced methodological and measurement problems not uncommon to a number of studies noted in the previous section.

By contrast the second group of more recent studies challenged the notion of "appropriate" sex typing and offer alternate ways of viewing "nonappropriate" behavior.

Studies Pertaining to Children

In 1956 Brown published his It Scale for Children (ITSC) a masculinity-femininity scale for the very young child. His 1957 study was an extension of the original and expanded the age limits from 5½ years to 11½ years. The ITSC measures a child's sex-role preference operationally defined by Brown (1956) "in terms of the preferential responses of children to sex-typed objects and activities" (p. 4). However, Brown defined which objects and activities were masculine or feminine and ignored his pilot subjects definitions. For example, when 66 percent of the girls in his sample ranked an earth-mover toy second of 16 choices, Brown concluded that the majority of these girls preferred a masculine sex-role rather than redefining his "sex-typed object" as a neutral, nondiscriminating item. Further, of the Toy Picture Section of his test Brown wrote:

> From 75% to 93% of the toy item choices of boys in all age groups are for masculine objects. In contracts, only 30% to 42% of the toy item choices of girls, kindergarten through the fourth grade, are for feminine choices (1957, p. 200).

In his 1957 study Brown examined 303 boys and 310 girls between the ages of 5½ and 11½ years with the ITSC. The scale is made up of 36 picture cards, 3x4, of objects and figures defined as masculine or feminine. "It" is a sexless stick figure which is used to facilitate

the child's expression of his or her own role preference. The child is asked to indicate which picture "It" prefers.

Brown's data revealed that at each age level girls, compared to boys, were significantly more variable in their sex-role preferences. Boys showed strong masculine role preference, whereas girls, as a group, did not show nearly the same degree of feminine role preference.

Brown attached a sense of urgency and issued a warning based on his findings. He opened his 1957 paper with the following: "The acquisition by the child of normal sex-role behavior is a fundamental aspect of total personality development and adjustment" (p. 197). Brown closed by stating:

> if a girl has made a basic and primary identification with and continues to prefer the masculine role through childhood and into adolescence (and conversely with the boy) sex-role inversion in adulthood would be expected, one aspect of which would be a homosexual object choice (p. 202).

Brown's work was of prime importance and launched a flurry of research activity. Research on sex-role behavior in children had received little attention until Brown published his monograph. Schell and Silber (1968) note that nearly every theoretical discussion or review of research on sex-role identification and preference among children cites results which have been obtained with the It Scale for Children.

A number of investigators (Hartup and Zook, 1960; Lefkowitz, 1961; Brown, 1962; Lansky and McKay, 1963; Hall and Keith, 1964; Thompson and McCandless, 1970; Doll, Fagot and Himbert, 1971) began to question these researchers on methodological grounds, claiming that "It" seemed to be seen as male by most children. Thompson and McCandless (1971) concluded that the use of the "It" instructions "to measure which

sex role a child prefers may thus be suspect" (p. 434). The test has also been criticized on the clarity and representativeness of many of the items in the test. Schell and Silber (1968) note that the masculine items appear to be much more clearly illustrated and believe that the difference in clarity would favor recognition and choice of masculine items.

Lansky and McKay (1963) criticized the ITSC on a point that may well be a key issue in the measurement of masculinity-femininity. However, it seems to have been of little import on subsequent research. They state:

> Another source of difficulty with the ITSC may stem from the assumption behind the measure that masculinity and femininity are at the ends of a single bipolar continuum. ...Our pilot data suggest that for many items of standard masculinity-femininity tests, the bipolar assumption is untenable (p. 420).

Other research concerning children and the measure of masculinity -femininity involved the use of children's games and toys. Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1960) assumed that children's games are one of the ways children learn appropriate sex-role behavior. Therefore, differences in choices of games of boys and girls should reflect their perception of behavior appropriate to their sex. The researchers asked 402 children, grades one through eight to list all the games they played. A final list of 115 items was comprised on which at least half of another sample of 187 children responded. An item analysis was performed on the basis of sex and preferences. Only 18 items were chosen more frequently by boys than girls; 40 items chosen more frequently by girls than boys. The remaining items failed to differentiate the sexes.

The results indicated that boys had fewer games that

differentiated them from girls than did girls have games that differentiated them from boys. It was found that baseball, soccer and camping did not significantly differentiate between the sexes whereas, in an earlier study (Terman, 1926), they did.

Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith concluded that girls showed a greater preference for boy play roles, and that they also retained their own distinctive play roles. The female role was seen as being expanded whereas the male role perception was contracting.

Sutton-Smith, Rosenberg and Morgan (1963) examined developmental changes in preference patterns of children in grades three through six. Using the same list described above, they found girls were more responsive to the items listed than boys and that girls showed an increased interest in masculine items throughout these grades. The major changes occurred between third and fourth grades. Boys showed an increased interest for more mature items, whereas girls showed an increased interest in both immature and mature masculine and feminine items. Immature items were described as simple pastimes such as singing games, make-believe, and tagging games. The more mature games included marbles, basketball, soccer, baseball, skiing, and boating.

Other researchers (Brown, 1956; Hartley, 1960) have indicated that changes in girls' preferences may be an indication of sex-role confusion. Although Sutton-Smith et al. found no definite evidence to support this concept they too concluded that sex-role confusion was a possible explanation for changes the girls demonstrated.

Walker's (1964) study was an extension and partial replication of Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith's (1960) research. Walker studied children in another geographic region and compared his findings with those of

Rosenberg et al. He found little difference between the groups on the masculine scale, but very large differences occurred on the feminine scale. Walker associated this difference with a maturity variable and did not conclude that the one group of boys and girls were more feminine than the other group.

In reviewing the literature concerning sex-role identification and sex-role preference De Lucia (1963) found that the variety of experimental techniques had produced a variety of experimental results--results as varied as the methods used.

The main thesis of her study was that the reliability of the measuring instrument and experimental method is of prime importance. De Lucia pointed out that previous studies were primarily interested in personality and not in methods used in assessment.

De Lucia very carefully constructed another toy preference test. The test consisted of photographs of toys which were defined as masculine, feminine or neutral by young adults. The test yielded results compatible with Brown, i.e., "boys made more sex-appropriate choices than girls and their superiority consistently increased in the later school years" (p. 117).

De Lucia also made, what by now seems to have been, a basic assumption, "If appropriate sex behavior is learned by the child, increasing manifestations of appropriate sex behavior would be expected" (p. 115), i.e., there is an appropriate male role and an appropriate female role the child is expected to learn and the degree of appropriateness can be measured.

A study by Hartup, Moore and Sager (1963) also concerned itself with the child's appropriate sex-role behavior. The assumption by

Hartup et al. was that masculinity in boys involved avoidance of femininity and likewise femininity in girls involved avoidance of masculinity. These investigators developed a technique for measuring avoidance of inappropriate sex-typed objects.

Subjects for this study were children ages three through eight. They were individually observed as they interacted with toys placed on a table. Two-thirds of the table contained attractive inappropriate toys separated with a space from unattractive neutral toys. Subjects were scored masculine, feminine, or neutral according to the rate of looking, touching, or being in proximity to the toys.

The data revealed that with increasing age, young children increasingly avoid inappropriate-sex objects. The researchers concluded that increasing avoidance of inappropriate sex-typed activities appeared to be characteristic of both sexes, although avoidance may be more general in the behavior of boys. It should be noted that in this study the appropriateness and attractiveness of the toys were again judged by adults.

In an unrelated study of preferences in picture books, Stewig (1972) found from his review of research that often the choices adults made for children were substantially unlike the choices children made for themselves. He quoted Bomberger, "It is also clear that there is less difference between the boys' and girls' selections than exists between the opinions of adults and children's choices" (p. 274). There may be a parallel here in that a number of studies used adult raters rather than peers as judges of "appropriateness." In a forty year old study concerning children's preferences among play materials, Vance and McCall (1934) found that similarity of interest in play materials between

boys and girls of all ages was greater than the differences.

Spence (1964) notes that the task of future researchers is to "discern whether the pattern of sex-role development emerging in these early studies are actual patterns, artifacts of the measurement techniques, or a combination of both of these" (p. 183).

Alternate Views

Much of past research has been concerned with "appropriate" sex typing. Sherriffs and Jarret (1953) stated that "virtually no behavior or quality escapes inclusion in either a male or female 'stereotype'" (p. 167). Kagan (1964) found that young school children could classify items in the school environment as masculine or feminine. It is exactly this either or preoccupation of many investigators that has "muddied" the research "waters." The following several studies present another way of viewing masculinity-femininity.

Lunneborg and Rosenwood (1972) replicated a study described in Bardwick (1972a) which showed that women were strictly interpersonal and affiliative. They studied 465 male and female students. The subjects completed a one page survey answering, "What would make you happy?", "What would make you sad?", and "What would make you angry?"

Using the definitions of n aff and n ach given in Bardwick's book, raters scored responses accordingly. The angry and sad responses were combined. Subjects could receive four scores, 1 or 0 for n aff, happy and sad/angry and 1 or 0 for n ach, happy and sad/angry. Agreement between raters was 95.5 percent.

A chi square test of differences was used to analyze the data. Only one of the four tests yielded significant results in line with

traditional expectations. That was for affiliation-happy to which 46 percent of the women provided scorable responses compared to 29 percent of the men.

The researchers concluded that the relative presence of n aff and n ach in the sexes today presents evidence of the breakdown of sex-stereotypes. The data indicated that college men and women both possess these needs, "with men becoming more concerned with loving and close interpersonal relationships and women more concerned with pride in school and work achievement" (p. 798).

Hyde and Rosenberg (1974) studied the prevalence of tomboyism in three samples of females from the general population. Past research on this topic has focused on lesbians indicating that tomboyism and feminine identification were incompatible.

For the purposes of this study Hyde and Rosenberg relied on the operational definition that a tomboy is a girl who says she is a tomboy. "An apparent self-definition seems to emerge in terms of clothes and game preferences and preferred sex of playmates" (p. 9).

In addition to studying the frequency of tomboyism the researchers also examined the relationship between tomboyism and masculinity, and tomboyism and social class variables.

Data were collected from several sources: autobiographical papers, questionnaires, and surveys. The subjects were college women, junior high school girls, and adult women selected at a shopping mall frequented mostly by working class people.

Analysis of the data revealed that tomboys in the general public are not a minority. Of the college women, 78 percent had reported being a tomboy, 63 percent of the junior high girls, and 51 percent of adult

women also admitted being a tomboy. The researchers concluded that from a statistical standpoint it is not possible to call tomboyism abnormal. Nor by comparison with nontomboys, from whom they did not differ on many psychological variables across ages and socioeconomic status. Finally, Hyde and Rosenberg concluded:

> if the active behavior characteristic of tomboys is indeed typical of females, we must seriously consider revising theories of sex role development designed to rationalize female passivity (p. 10).

Zuk (1958) studied sex-appropriate behavior in adolescence. He had access to the same data used by Mussen (1961) that was collected by the Adolescent Growth Study. Zuk studied 99 adolescent boys and girls for a three year period (1935-1938) representing their 15th through 17th year. He analyzed every day behavior to note the changes in sex appropriateness of behavior. Zuk had a vast amount of data available from which he studied a number of behaviors using complex statistical methods.

Relevant to the present discussion is one piece of evidence that Zuk found which suggested that sex-appropriateness of behavior varies considerably from one area of behavior to the next. The example Zuk used was: "an adolescent boy whose behavior maybe strongly sex-appropriate in the area of athletics may exhibit weak sex-appropriate behavior in the area of reading interests or hobbies" (p. 24). He also found evidence that this same unevenness of sex-appropriate behavior existed also for girls. Zuk concluded that it was not unusual for an adolescent boy or girl to exhibit at one and the same time high and low sex-appropriateness between "families" of sociosexual behavior.

The data that were available to Zuk in the 1950's, collected in the 1930's, were required to wait until the mid 1970's to be defined by

further research. The individuals Zuk described then, now match Bem's (1972, 1974, 1975) definition of androgynous individuals.

Bem (1972) presented two well documented hypotheses to account for why psychologists have produced a literature that portrays a world composed of masculine males, feminine females and sex-reversed "deviants." She first questioned psychology's assumptions about sex roles and second, psychology's assumptions about personality.

Concerning the first assumption, Bem found that the literature revealed a major concern of psychologists: that children become "psychological" males or females. Also this was considered a fundamental childhood task. Accordingly many theories have been devised to account for the process whereby children become psychological males or females, which in turn generated more research.

Bem found a sex-role ideology predicated upon an "adjustment" theory of mental health. A number of researchers state that children and adults would be better off if their behavior conformed to society's stereotypes of sex-appropriate behavior. However, Bem found that the literature does not necessarily uphold this notion. She states, "The evidence reviewed so far suggests that a high level of sex-appropriate behavior does not necessarily facilitate a person's general psychological or social adjustment" (p. 6). Nor did Bem find that it was correlated with better intellectual performance.

Concerning psychology's assumptions about personality, Bem examined an aspect of psychological "traits." Trait theory assumes there are "pervasive cross-situational consistencies in an individual's behavior" (p. 7). However, the research tends to indicate that inconsistency is the norm and it is the phenomenon of consistency which must

be explained. Bem provides an example:

> cross-situational consistency might emerge when some sort of "motivational disturbance" causes a person to respond to dissimilar situations as if they were equivalent. The person who is defensively motivated to maintain some sort of image might well monitor his behavior so that it would, in fact, display trait-like consistency. ...sex-typing can also produce defensive trait-like consistency in behavior. ...the highly sex-typed individual is motivated to keep his behavior consistent with an internalized sex-role standard; ...In order to do this, the highly sex-typed individual may constantly have to monitor his behavior in order to filter out anything that might be considered "sex-inappropriate." In contrast, because he has no sex-typed image to maintain, the androgynous individual can remain sensitive to the changing constraints of the situation and engage in whatever behavior seems most effective at the moment, regardless of its stereotype ...For the androgynous individual, the "traits" of masculinity and femininity simply do not exist (p. 8).

Bem (1975) designed several research projects to study androgynous individuals and compare them with masculine and feminine subjects. In order to select subjects for the study it was first necessary for Bem to develop a new sex-role inventory which would not build in an inverse relationship between masculinity and femininity.

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) (Bem 1974) was devised. The BSRI contains a masculinity scale and a femininity scale. An androgyny score is the difference between a person's endorsement of masculinity and femininity. The score does not represent a simple difference score, rather it is obtained by a *t* ratio. A masculine score represents not only an endorsement of masculine attributes but a rejection of feminine attributes and likewise the feminine sex role represents an endorsement of feminine attributes and a simultaneous rejection of masculine attributes. The androgynous sex role represents the equal endorsement of both masculine and feminine attributes.

In a pilot test Bem found that independence from social pressure

was rated as masculine. The first study tested androgynous and masculine subjects against feminine subjects on a task designed to test conformity. The subjects were all college students, nine each masculine, androgynous and feminine of each sex. Two orthogonal comparisons were tested: 1) masculine and androgynous subjects would not differ from one another in amount of conformity, and 2) masculine and androgynous subjects would both conform on fewer trials than feminine subjects.

Results indicated that masculine and androgynous subjects did conform on fewer trials than feminine subjects. Masculine and androgynous subjects did not differ from one another in amount of conformity. No main effect was found for sex, i.e., male and female feminine subjects did not differ.

The second study tested a feminine situation, again a pilot test indicated that kitten-playing was considered feminine. Two comparisons were made for this study: 1) feminine and androgynous subjects would both demonstrate greater involvement with a kitten than masculine subjects; and 2) feminine and androgynous subjects would not differ.

It was found that feminine and androgynous males demonstrated significantly greater involvement with the kitten than did masculine males. Feminine and androgynous males did not differ. For females the pattern was not as expected. Feminine and androgynous females did not show greater involvement with the kitten than did masculine females. Further, feminine females showed significantly less overall involvement than did androgynous females.

Bem concluded that evidence was found to support that androgynous individuals exist as a distinct class. Also they would be more likely than nonandrogynous subjects to display behavioral adaptability across

situations, engaging in behaviors which seemed appropriate for the situation, regardless of its stereotype.

Summary

The literature reviewed in this section clearly delineates two different attitudes concerning sex-typing. These differences appear to be separated by time, however even some of the earlier studies gave indications that the either/or concept of masculinity-femininity was weakening. And of course today there are still those who hold with the older concept (see Newsweek, June 10, 1974).

Two quotations, one by Hartley in 1961 and the other by Vener et al. in 1965 seem to capture the essence of the "older" school of thought.

In discussing the items on her Role Distribution measure Hartley wrote: "Several competent adult judges then went over the items and judged them on the criterion of being 'things that women are supposed or expected to do just because they are women'" (p. 9). Vener in an introductory statement about the young child's task wrote: "In order to avoid severe social disorganization, these individuals must identify with the proper sex at the earliest possible age" (p. 49).

A statement by Brothers in 1973 provides a marked contrast:

> Some psychiatrists and sociologists today feel that it might be better if parents were totally unaware of their children's sex until they are grown. If this were possible, then the child would be seen without prejudice totally for what he or she is without any bias from the parent (p. 8).

A number of researchers (Weisstein, 1971; Hyde et al., 1974; Bem, 1974, 1975) are now calling for a reexamination of many of the basic psychological theories which promote the concept of sex typing and adjustment.

It would not be unreasonable to expect that the challenge of the

"newer" school of thought would have an impact on students currently studying and researching the newer ideas. Therefore one of the assumptions of the present study was that counselors-in-training would be in tune with the problems inherent in sex-role stereotyping.

Summary

The implications of the literature reviewed here are summarized in terms of the hypothetical position of the present study.

The first hypothesis states that the counselors' judgments would differ as a function of the sex of the person being judged. The research reviewed in this chapter presented the prevalent scientific views concerning sex-role stereotyping. There has been little empirical evidence found to indicate that the traditional views have been supplanted. Therefore, it would seem reasonable to assume that on repeating the Broverman et al. (1970) experiment, that basically the same results should follow, i.e., adults and men would be judged the same, and they would be judged as different from women.

The second hypothesis stated that judgments of counselors-in-training would differ from those of counselors in the schools. The prediction that high school and community college counselors would be similar in their judgments was based on conclusions drawn from the literature. There is a dearth of literature dealing with the counselor and sex-role stereotyping, nevertheless, certain themes did emerge. As might be expected, evidence was found that counselors have been influenced by their cultural environment. It was further demonstrated that they hold traditional stereotypic views.

It is probably safe to assume that during their training high

school and community college counselors had also been influenced by a course of study including theories of adjustment which had lent support to the popular stereotypes. The abundance of literature emphasizing appropriate sex-role adjustment was bound to have had an impact.

That a difference would be found, between counselors-in-training and those currently working in the schools, was also founded on evidence gleaned from the literature. As was noted in each section, changes are occurring in the thinking that underlies basic assumptions concerning sex roles. It might be expected that by virtue of being students, counselors-in-training would have ready access to the research currently questioning these assumptions. And further, that this information might have an impact on their judgments.

Ferberger (1948) in discussing racial and sexual stereotypes noted that:

> It is not surprising that a purely intellectual appeal should have so little effort in changing such opinions. If such stereotypes are to be eliminated, the appeal must be emotional as well as intellectual (p. 101).

The current issue of sex-role stereotyping is not without an emotional base.

The women's movement has supplied the emotions; current research the food for thought. It was assumed that the student taking his/her training today has been exposed to a proper emotional-intellectual mixture so as to have had an effect on his/her stance concerning sex-role stereotyping.

The third hypothesis stated that there would be no differences between the sexes on their judgments. Volumes have been written on the psychology of sex differences and scores of research studies dedicated

to studying these differences. Bott (1970) sums up the net result:

> the literature confirms sex differences in body size, neuromuscular reaction, vital capacity, and certain other physiological features, but it fails to establish a correlation between sex and psychological traits (p. 92).

The literature reviewed here provided no reason to expect that men and women would differ in their judgments concerning sex-role stereotyping.

The fourth hypothesis predicted that counselors-in-training might be more likely to score the adult, male and female more nearly alike. The literature reviewed tended to reveal a definition of femininity that was considered, on the whole, as less desirous than a definition of masculinity. Thus it was expected that the adult standard that the counselors in this study were to define, would resemble the traditional view of masculinity. Further, since it has been demonstrated that high school and community college counselors are not expected to differ, they would rate the male and adult alike but different from the female. For the reasons explained above it was expected that counselors-in-training would rate females, adults and males similarly.

A review of the research literature revealed a number of methodological and statistical problems that tended to limit the impact of some of the research findings. Some of these problems were the reliance on *t* tests, the representativeness of subjects, and psychometric limitations. The design of the present study represented an attempt to avoid these problems.

Design and procedures are presented in Chapter III.

Chapter III

Design and Procedures

This chapter describes the research procedures of data collection and analysis necessary to test the hypotheses and answer questions raised by this study.

A random sampling procedure was employed to select a representative sample of California community college and high school counselors. The Stereotype Questionnaire was completed by these two samples as well as a sample of counselors-in-training. Data obtained from the questionnaire were evaluated by a CRF 332 (Kirk, 1968) analysis of variance. Each stereotypic item was then further separately analyzed with a one-way analysis of variance.

These procedures enabled the investigator to gather and analyze data necessary to test the hypotheses to be discussed in this chapter and answer the research questions.

Subjects

The population studied consisted of counselors from two levels of the California public school system and counselors-in-training. The sample was comprised of 60 community college counselors; 30 males and 30 females, and likewise 60 high school counselors divided equally between the sexes. The sample was completed with 30 male and 30 female counselors-in-training. The total sample included 180 subjects.

Statistical Description of Subjects

Subjects provided information regarding their ethnic background, educational attainment, counseling and teaching experiences, and age.

Age. The age ranged for these subjects from 22 to 65 years. The data are provided in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Counselor Distribution by Age

Counselors	Age					
	22-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-65	Total
College	6	11	19	20	4	60
High School	6	13	19	18	4	60
Student	38	16	5	1	0	60
Total	50	40	43	39	8	180

Ethnic background. Information on ethnic background was provided by 166 of the subjects. Three each college and high school counselors withheld this information as well as 14 counselors-in-training. These data are provided in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Counselor Distribution by Race

Counselors	Race				
	Caucasian	Mexican-Am.	Black	Other	Total
College	87.71%	2.02%	1.75%	3.51%	99.99%
High School	91.22%	5.26%	3.51%	0.00%	99.99%
Student	78.84%	1.92%	11.54%	7.69%	99.99%

Education. The education level of the subjects ranged from the bachelor's degree through the doctorate.

BA-BA+	MA-MA+	PhD-EdD
25.99%	66.66%	7.34%

High school and community college counselors indicated the year of their last formal college course.

1974	1973-1970	1969-
56.14%	26.32%	17.54%

Experience. Counseling experience for community college and high school counselors ranged from one to 27 years.

1-5 years	6-10 years	11-15 years	16-20 years	21-27 years
41	38	24	10	7

Of the total sample 83.34% had teaching experience.

Method of Selection

A random sampling procedure was used to select the names of community college and high school counselors.

High school counselors. Since no master list was available a list of high school counselors was prepared by contacting school districts containing high schools. A stratified random sampling of school districts was made by dividing the state into 12 sections approximately equal in size. The school districts within each section were assigned numbers. Two districts were drawn from each section. The 24 districts were contacted by phone requesting a list of all high school counselors within the district. Of the 24 districts, 18 returned the requested information. The lists were combined and numbered separately

for men and women. These lists yielded the names of 67 females and 122 males from which 37 each were selected and alternately assigned to one of three groups of instructions.

Community college counselors. An alphabetized listing of community colleges was taken from the 1974 California Public School Directory and numbered in order. A random selection of 22 colleges was made. Names of community college counselors were obtained from current faculty lists in the various college catalogs. By this method the names of 59 females and 144 males were obtained and 48 each were selected and alternately assigned to one of three groups of instructions.

Counselors-in-training. Counselors-in-training were selected from two private universities, one in the upper central valley and the other in Southern California. Three California State Universities were also selected. Sixty-seven students from six classes made up the sample.

Data Gathering Procedure

The Instrument

The instrument used in this study was the Stereotype Questionnaire developed by Rosenkrantz et al. (1968). It was first used to assess the relationship of self-concept to differentially valued sex-role stereotypes in male and female college students. It has been subsequently used in research similar to the present study (Broverman et al., 1970; Garman, 1973) and so was appropriate for use here. Briefly, the Stereotype Questionnaire consists of 38 bipolar items describing a particular behavioral trait or characteristic. The items that make up the present questionnaire are those identified as

"stereotypic" from an original pool of 122 items.

The "stereotypic" items are those items on which at least 75% agreement existed among 80 college women and 74 college men as to which pole was more descriptive of the average man than the average woman, or vice versa. Forty-one items met this criterion. However, three of these items seemed to reflect adolescent concerns with sex and were subsequently dropped. The 38 remaining stereotypic items are listed in Appendix A.

Of the 38 items defined as stereotypic, 27 had the masculine pole chosen as more desirable by a majority of each sample. These are termed "male-valued" items; the remaining 11 items are termed "female-valued." Men and women showed close agreement about which poles were socially desirable (r between men and women = .96).

The socially desirable items were determined by factor analysis performed separately on the masculinity and femininity responses in both a sample of 73 men and a sample of 48 women.

> Each analysis produced two initial factors accounting, on the average, for 61% of the total extractable communality. The two factors in all four analyses divided the stereotypic items into those on which the male pole is more socially desirable versus those on which the female pole is more socially desirable....the stereotypic items consist of two orthogonal domains, i.e., male-valued items and female-valued items. The male-valued items ... reflect a "competency" cluster. ...The female-valued stereotypic items...the "warmth and expressiveness" cluster (Broverman et al., 1972).

The questionnaire has three sets of instructions: Male (M), Female (F), and Adult (A). The (A) instructions read:

> We would like to know something about what counselors expect other people to be like. Imagine that you are going to meet someone for the first time, and the only thing that you know in advance is that this person is a mature, healthy, socially competent adult. Circle

the number that best describes that person.

The (M) and (F) instructions simply substitute the words "man" or "woman" instead of the word "adult." The questionnaire is included in Appendix B.

Each of the 38 items were scored on a six point scale. To facilitate data analysis, scores were reflected so that high scores always indicated the masculine pole. Thus the extreme feminine pole represents a value of one and the extreme masculine pole represents a value of six. Total scores could therefore have conceivably ranged from 38 to 228. Items one and 12 are scored and included here as an example.

2	1	Not at all aggressive	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very Aggressive
5	12	Very blunt	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very tactful

Any individual (M) or (F) score has no special meaning except as it relates to the (A) score. The mean of scores in the (A) instruction are the norm against which (M) and (F) are judged. (M) and (F) scores that do not differ significantly from the mean of (A) are considered to be representative of a healthy, mature, socially competent individual. This is based on the assumption that what the majority of counselors considers to be healthy, mature, and socially competent for an adult, regardless of sex, reflects an ideal standard.

Data Collection

High school counselors. Questionnaires were mailed to each of 37 high school male and female counselors who were selected by the method previously described. The questionnaires were alternately stacked by adult, male and female instructions and were assigned in that order to the names drawn. A cover letter (Appendix C) which requested the

counselor's help but did not explain the reason for the study accompanied the questionnaire.

In an attempt to increase the return rate of questionnaires, each of the first 30 male and female high school subjects also received a one dollar check made payable to the student activity fund of the counselor's high school. Since only 60 returned questionnaires were needed, only 60 one dollar checks were sent.

With the exception of two females and three males, all questionnaires were returned. Of the 60 checks sent out 18 were returned. Six females returned their checks; the two who did not respond also received a check. The seven who did not receive a check all returned their questionnaires. Twelve males returned checks, two of the males who did not respond also received checks. (It was learned, checks are unnecessary.)

Sufficient questionnaires were returned in each category so that a follow-up was not necessary. The nine questionnaires not used were randomly excluded. The subjects remaining in the study represent 18 school districts and 55 high schools.

Community college counselors. Questionnaires and cover letters were mailed to each of the 96 community college counselors selected. They did not receive checks. Of this total 32 females returned their questionnaires and 26 males. A second mailing of 17 questionnaires was made to male counselors of which 10 were returned. Again 60 questionnaires, 10 from each group, were retained for analysis.

Counselors-in-training. Questionnaires were distributed to six advanced practicum classes and students filled them out during the class

period. Of the 67 completed ten from each group were retained for the study.

Data collection for all groups was completed in one month.

Data Analysis

Primary Analysis

The major concern of the primary analysis was the F ratio for the main effects associated with varying the instructions and the differences between counselors. They were of most direct interest to the main hypotheses because they indicated whether or not counselors' conceptions of males, females, and adults differ significantly, and whether or not there is a significant difference between counselors-in-training and those in the schools. To test these main effects as well as interaction effects a 3x3x2 completely randomized factorial fixed effects analysis of variance (CRF-332) as described in Kirk (1968) was performed on the raw scores. This design permitted the investigator to simultaneously evaluate the combined effects of two or more factors. In this case three different sets of instructions were used with three classifications of counselors, subdivided by sex. The four interactions evaluated with the CRF-332 design were IxC, IxS, CxS, IxCxS where I = instructions, C = counselors, and S = sex. See Figure 1. Dunn's procedure for planned multiple comparisons (Kirk, 1968) was used to further investigate the F-ratios.

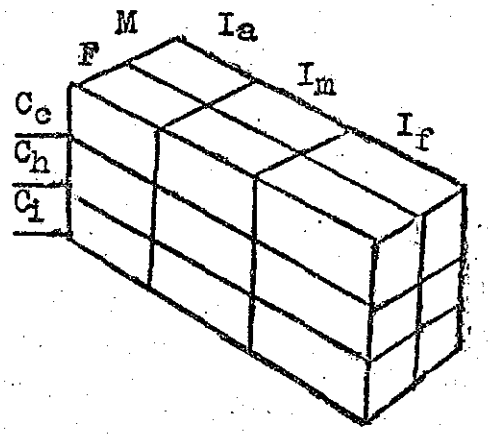


Figure 1. CRF-332 fixed effects model.

I_a adult instructions

I_m male instructions

I_f female instructions

F female subjects

C_c Community college counselors

C_h High school counselors

C_i Counselors-in-training

M male subjects

Operational hypotheses. Prior to the study the following predictions were made and are stated in the order of the analysis performed. Hypotheses pertaining to main effects (instructions, counselors, sex) are listed first, then those pertaining to interaction effects, e.g., instructions x counselors.

Hypotheses based on instructions.

H_1: The main effect for instructions will be significant.

Whether or not the main effect for instructions was significant Dunn's multiple comparison procedure permitted further investigations of H_1 a-c and was used.

1_a There will be no significant differences between the mean scores of characteristics ascribed to healthy, mature, socially competent adults and healthy, mature, socially competent adult males.

1_b The mean scores of characteristics ascribed to a healthy, mature, socially competent adult will be significantly greater than the mean scores ascribed to a healthy, mature, socially competent adult female.

1_c The mean scores of characteristics ascribed to a healthy, mature, socially competent adult male will be significantly greater than the mean scores ascribed to a healthy, mature, socially competent adult female.

Hypotheses based on counselors.

H_2: The main effect for counselors will be significant.

Dunn's multiple comparison procedure was used to investigate H_2 a-c.

2_a There will be no significant difference between the mean scores of community college counselors and high school counselors.

2_b The mean scores of counselors-in-training will be significantly greater than the mean scores of community college counselors.

2_c The mean scores of counselors-in-training will be significantly greater than the mean scores of high school counselors.

Hypotheses based on sex.

H_3: There will be no significant difference between the mean scores of males and females.

Hypotheses based on the Instructions x Counselors Interaction.

H_4: There will be a significant interaction between counselors and instructions.

Should this interaction have been significant, simple effects analysis would have been performed, i.e., counselors compared at each level of instructions as stated in H_4 a-c.

4_a There will be significant differences between counselors on the Female Instructions.

1. Counselors-in-training will have mean scores significantly greater than community college counselors on Female Instructions.
2. Counselors-in-training will have mean scores significantly greater than high school counselors on Female Instructions.
3. There will be no significant difference between mean scores of community college counselors and high school counselors on Female Instructions.

Here again Dunn's procedure was appropriate and was used to investigate H_{4a} 1-3.

4_b There will be no significant differences between counselors on the Adult Instructions.

4_c There will be no significant differences between counselors on the Male Instructions.

No interactions were predicted for instructions x sex, or counselor x sex.

No significant three-way interaction was predicted.

Secondary Analysis

To more thoroughly examine the stereotypic items themselves and permit a discussion of the characteristics ascribed to men and women a further analysis was performed. A one-way analysis of variance was made to determine any significant differences within the (A), (M), and (F) instructions for each item. Significant F ratios were further analyzed with Tukey's a posteriori test statistic (Kirk, 1968) which permits data snooping among all comparisons of means.

The secondary analysis permitted the investigator to locate the direction of each item and describe the "adult norm" as well as describe characteristics of the "man" and "woman" in relationship to this norm.

Chapter IV

Presentation Treatment and Analysis of Data

This chapter presents the data gathered by the Stereotype Questionnaire and discusses their treatment and analysis. The hypotheses tested in the primary analysis are presented first and an inspection of the stereotypic items follow.

Primary Analysis

The analysis of variance table provides an overall view of the findings and is presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Analysis of Variance

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Instructions (I)	1420.1	2	710.05	5.4117*
Counselor (C)	432.4	2	216.2	1.5654
Sex (S)	281.0	1	281	2.0346
I x C	499.3	4	124.825	.9038
I x S	166.0	2	83	.6009
C x S	111.1	2	55.55	.4022
I x C x S	589.2	4	147.3	1.0665
Error (W. cell)	22373.9	162	138.11049	--
Total	25873	179	--	--

*p<.05.

Hypotheses Based on Instructions

An inspection of Table 4 reveals a significant F ratio for the main effect of instructions. To locate the exact differences accounting for this significant finding Dunn's multiple comparison statistic was employed.

H_{1a}-H_{1c} were tested according to Dunn's procedure and the data are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5

Differences among Means for Instructions

			A	F	M
			142.86	142.95	148.86
Adult	(A)	142.86	-	.08	6.0*
Female	(F)	142.95		-	5.9*
Male	(M)	148.86			-

*p<.05.

The data reported in Table 5 fails to support the predictions made on H_{1a} and H_{1b} but does support the prediction of H_{1c}. The data suggest that there is no significant difference between Female and Adult Instructions; there is a significant difference between Male and Female Instructions and also Male and Adult Instructions.

Hypotheses Based on Counselors

No significant F ratio was found for main effects for counselors. Dunn's multiple comparison procedure was employed and also failed to find a significant difference among means. These data lend support for H_{2a} which predicted no difference between community college and high

school counselors. The prediction that counselors-in-training would score higher was not supported.

Hypotheses Based on Sex of Counselor

The F ratio for main effect for sex was not significant as was predicted on H_3.

Hypotheses Based on Interactions

No significant interactions were found, as predicted, for counselors x sex and instructions x sex. Contrary to prediction, no interaction for counselors x instructions was found.

Predictions made prior to a study may be tested whether or not a significant F ratio is found with Dunn's multiple comparison procedure. Comparisons of counselors on female instructions ($H_{4a_1-4a_3}$) were so tested with no significant differences found.

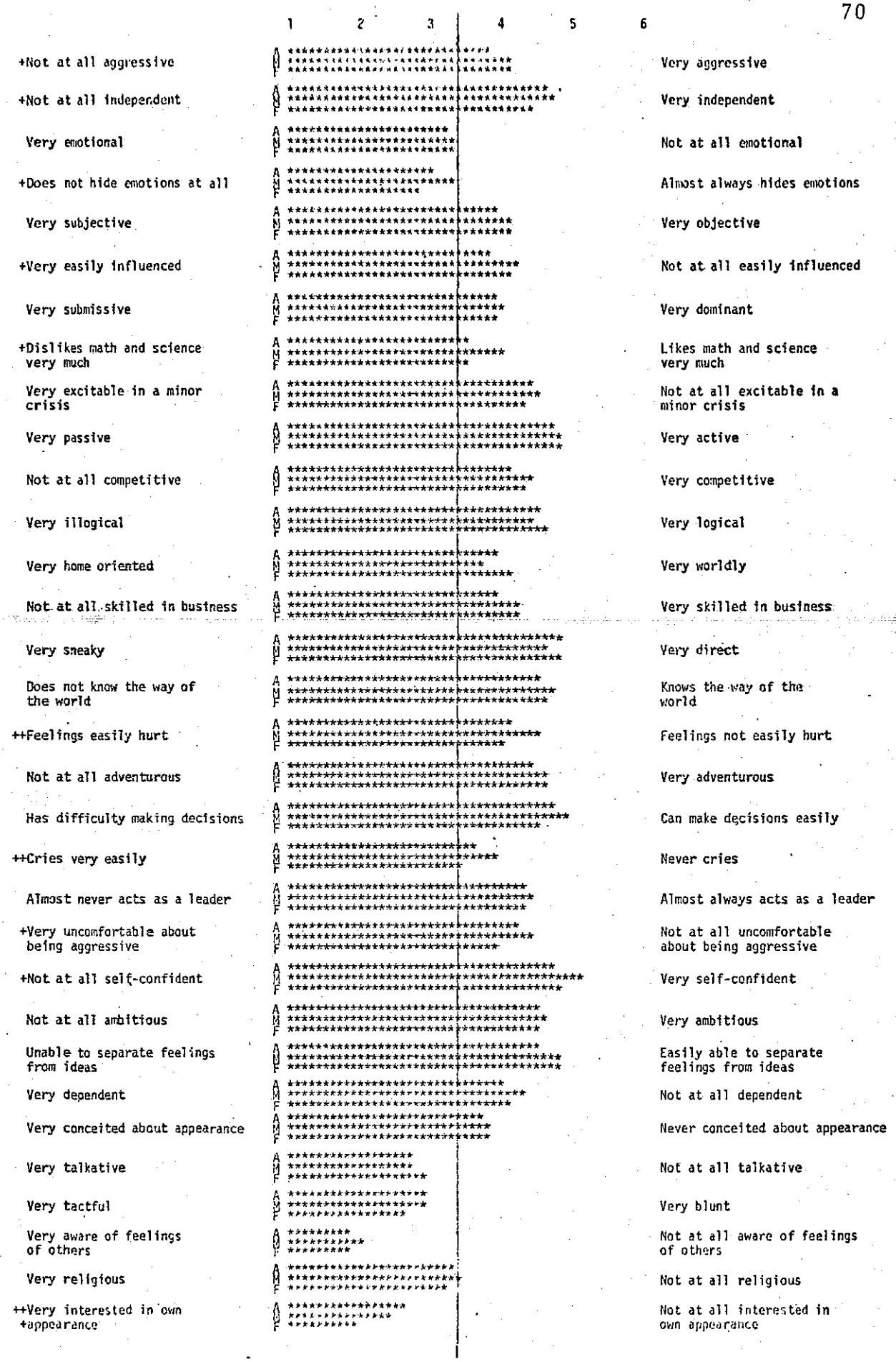
Secondary Analysis

The stereotypic items were individually examined with a one-way ANOVA. Tukey's test statistic was used to examine differences among the means. Since the main effects for counselors and sex were not significant the three groups of counselors were combined and the differences in instructions examined for each item.

The male was found to differ significantly on 15 of the items. They are: not at all aggressive vs. very aggressive, not at all independent vs. very independent, does not hide emotions at all vs. almost always hides emotion, very easily influences vs. not at all easily influenced, dislikes math and science very much vs. likes math and science very much, very home oriented vs. very worldly, feelings easily

hurt vs. feelings not easily hurt, cries very easily vs. never cries, very uncomfortable about being aggressive vs. not at all uncomfortable about being aggressive, not at all self-confident vs. very self-confident, very interested in own appearance vs. not at all interested in own appearance, very neat in habits vs. very sloppy in habits, very quiet vs. very loud, very strong need for security vs. very little need for security, and very gentle vs. very rough.

Figure 2 displays these data. Table 6 in Appendix D provides the mean scores for each item.


1
2
3
4
5
6
+Not at all aggressive
Very aggressive
+Not at all independent
Very independent
Very emotional
Not at all emotional
+Does not hide emotions at all
Almost always hides emotions
Very subjective
Very objective
+Very easily influenced
Not at all easily influenced
Very submissive
Very dominant
+Dislikes math and science very much
Likes math and science very much
Very excitable in a minor crisis
Not at all excitable in a minor crisis
Very passive
Very active
Not at all competitive
Very competitive
Very illogical
Very logical
Very home oriented
Very worldly
Not at all skilled in business
Very skilled in business
Very sneaky
Very direct
Does not know the way of the world
Knows the way of the world
++Feelings easily hurt
Feelings not easily hurt
Not at all adventurous
Very adventurous
Has difficulty making decisions
Can make decisions easily
++Cries very easily
Never cries
Almost never acts as a leader
Almost always acts as a leader
+Very uncomfortable about being aggressive
Not at all uncomfortable about being aggressive
+Not at all self-confident
Very self-confident
Not at all ambitious
Very ambitious
Unable to separate feelings from ideas
Easily able to separate feelings from ideas
Very dependent
Not at all dependent
Very conceited about appearance
Never conceited about appearance
Very talkative
Not at all talkative
Very tactful
Very blunt
Very aware of feelings of others
Not at all aware of feelings of others
Very religious
Not at all religious
++Very interested in own +appearance
Not at all interested in own appearance

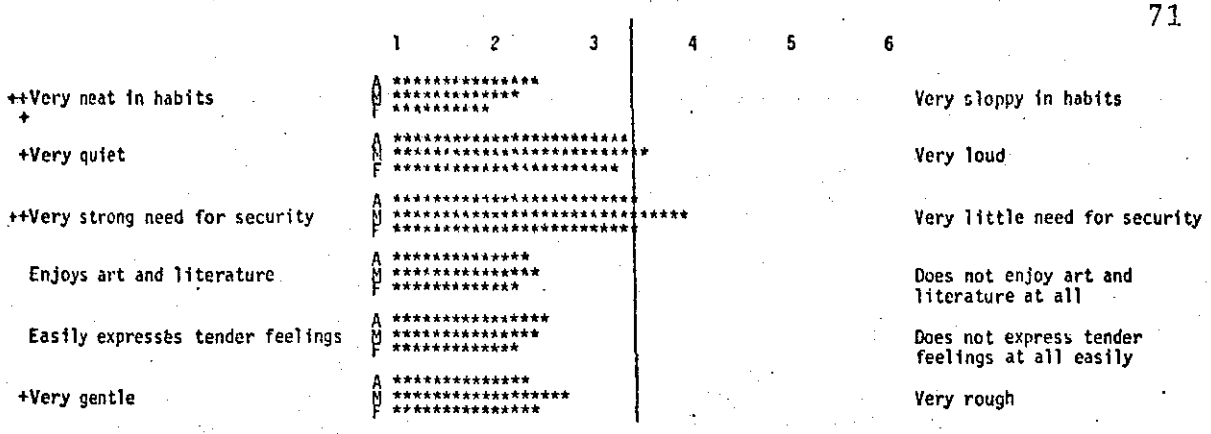


Figure 2. Significance level specified is for largest difference between means using Tukey's multiple comparison test.

+p<.05

++p<.01

Chapter V

Discussion and Recommendations

The current study examined the attitudes of counselors as a function of their expectations of males and females. This investigation was organized and conducted as outlined in Chapter III. The reported findings were based on data collected with the Stereotype Questionnaire. The statistical evidence was reported in the previous Chapter. Various conclusions are drawn from this study in terms relative to the hypotheses stated in Chapter III of this report. These are discussed below.

Conclusions Drawn from the Investigation

Primary Analysis

The significant *F* ratio associated with varying of instructions on the Stereotype Questionnaire lends support to the hypothesis concerning main effects for instructions. It appears that, for California counselors, judgments about the characteristics of healthy, mature, socially competent males differ from judgments of healthy, mature, socially competent females.

The *F* ratio associated with differences among counselors was not significant, thus not supporting the second main hypothesis. However, this fact, along with the nonsignificant interactions between instructions and counselors, and instructions and sex, suggest that the stereotypes themselves are quiet pervasive and seem to exist in

approximately equal strength for counselors in high schools, in community colleges and for counselors-in-training.

It was predicted that counselors' judgments would concur with traditional stereotypic concepts about males and females, and would agree with previous research (Broverman et al., 1970; Garman, 1973), i.e., males and adults would be judged as similar; females would be judged different from males and adults. This prediction was not supported. In analyzing the differences between means it can be seen that counselors' descriptions of a healthy, mature, socially competent female do not differ from their descriptions of a healthy, mature, socially competent adult. However, their descriptions of a healthy, mature, socially competent male differ significantly from the descriptions of the adult standard.

The significant difference between the means of the male and the female instructions may indicate that a double standard concerning social competence, mental health and maturity exists for men and women. It would appear that a healthy, mature, socially competent woman compares favorably with a healthy, mature, socially competent adult, but that a healthy, mature, socially competent man is expected to possess the characteristics of the adult standard to a greater degree.

Secondary Analysis

The characteristics of the male in relation to the female, as profiled in Figure 2, Chapter IV, are totally different than predicted, and unlike those found in previous research.

Even a cursory glance at Figure 2 reveals that there is complete agreement between the adult, male and female instructions as to which

pole is most characteristic of a healthy, mature, socially competent individual. California counselors do not seem to have different sets of expectations concerning the desired characteristics of men and women. They are the same and they do not differ from their expectations of the adult standard.

Had the data in this study been treated in the same manner as described by Broverman et al. (1970) no differences would have been found since the adult scores matched male and female scores insofar as which pole was selected. Had this been the case no differences would have been found and the conclusion could have been drawn that for counselors no differences exist concerning their expectations of males and females.

However, the design of this study not only permitted the investigation of direction but also of degree. A closer inspection of the individual items reveals that although the expected characteristics of the male and female are identical there are significant differences in 15 of the 38 items as to degree. On six of these items the male score is different than the adult standard (Table 6).

Broverman et al. (1970) found that on 25 of the 27 male-valued items the masculine health score exceeded the feminine health score (see Appendix A for male- and female-valued items). They also found that seven of the 11 female-valued items had higher feminine health scores. Garman (1973) found very similar results.

In the present study on the male-valued items, the male score significantly exceeded the adult score on four items, and significantly exceeded the female score on seven items. However, on no male-valued item did the adult score differ significantly from the female score.

On the female-valued items the male score differs significantly from the adult on two items and differs from the female score on three items. On two items the adult and female score differ. This contrast represents a marked change in attitude.

The adult. The adult was described by California counselors in terms of the items comprising the competency cluster (Appendix A) with the exception of "not at all emotional" and "almost always hides emotions." The warmth-expressive items were also characteristic of the adult with the exception of "very quiet" and "very strong need for security." These same characteristics used to describe the adult have been defined elsewhere as socially desirable (Rosenkrantz et al., 1968).

The present study found that to be "emotional" and to "not hide emotions" were desirable characteristics. This is in agreement with the findings of Broverman et al. (1970) and Garman (1973), but differ from the Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) original sample. The present study found that to be "loud" rather than "quiet" was a desirable quality. Two other items on which the Broverman et al. (1970) sample differed from the original, were "very religious" vs. "not at all religious," and "strong need for security" vs. "little need for security." In the present study these items stand at the midpoint between the two extremes with the exception of the male score on "very little need for security."

The ideal adult standard, as defined by California counselors, differ very little from the reports of previous research and may be characterized in socially desirable terms.

The female. The shift in position relative to the female instructions are not too surprising. The women's movement has been at

the root of much research and in the forefront of the popular press. It has also been the impetus for a number of legal changes which have enhanced the woman's role. It no doubt played a large part in shaping counselors' attitudes.

It was predicted that the counselors-in-training would judge women similar to the adult standard. This prediction was confirmed. It was founded on the assumption that students are required to keep abreast of current thought and would be more aware of the problems caused by stereotyping. The student, it was predicted, would be more likely to temper his/her judgments.

It was found, however, that the majority of California community college and high school counselors are also students. More than half were currently enrolled in college course work. More than 83 percent had taken some course work in the past four years; less than 18 percent had been removed from formal training by more than four years. It would seem that the same rationale applied to counselors-in-training would also apply to employed-counselor-students.

The literature also offers plausible explanations for this shift in favor of women. Lewittes et al. (1973) found in their sample of clinicians men were less biased against women and women were more pro-female than previous studies had found. Steinmann et al. (1966) found that the ideal woman delineated by men was not significantly different than women's self-perception. The woman was described in active terms.

Spence et al. (1972) found that a masculine-competent female was more likeable than other female types. This was true for both men and women. Broverman et al. (1972) point out that the majority of the socially desirable items on the Stereotype Questionnaire represent a

competency cluster. The female that the counselors in the present study described was done so primarily in competency terms.

Hyde (1974) found that the majority of women in her sample had been tomboys and as such had been very active children. The evidence that motor activity and expressive acting out were characteristics of children, not just boys, was offered by Hyde as empirical evidence to counter the doctrine of passivity psychologists have so long tried to document as characteristic of females. The series of studies reported in Chapter II concerning children all attest to the fact that the female is active and expressive. In the present study counselors' perceptions of the characteristics of the female appear to be congruent with empirical evidence and with what some women have long known to exist.

The male. It is not possible to determine whether the position of the male in the present study has been elevated relative to the adult ideal standard in the Broverman et al. (1970) study. The differences in means reported by Broverman reflect a difference in proportions of subjects selecting one pole of an item over the other pole. The adult standard was represented by that pole of each item on which the majority of subjects within adult instructions agreed. In the present study the items are scored on a continuum from one pole to the other and the means represent a position on that continuum. However, of concern for analysis here is the fact that the male and adult standard do differ for the sample of California counselors.

If we assume that the characteristics ascribed to the adult represents the standard of maturity, mental health, and social competence, then it could be reasoned that the expectations for the male is more

demanding than the norm.

The literature provides a basis to explain, in part, the extra demands placed on the "masculine" sex role. The early series of studies pertaining to children that were reviewed in Chapter II are generally cited in discussions of female "inappropriate" behavior. However, they also lend insight into male stereotyping.

Male behavior was found to be consistently "masculine" in study after study. (Bem, 1972, challenges the "normalcy" of consistent behavior.) The role defined for males was, by contrast to the female role, narrow, contracting, inflexible and prestigious (Rosenberg et al., 1960, 1964; Brown, 1957; DeLucia, 1963). Further, deviation from the norm, for males, meets with less tolerance (Gray, 1957; Pringle, 1973). Thus the male finds a narrow range of behavior available and chastisement for noncompliance.

The current complaints of the feminists against children's textbooks were first generated on behalf of females. However, if females are being denied appropriate models, males may be provided with impossible ones who "virtually monopolize desirable traits like intelligence, creativity, bravery, perseverance, initiative, and industry" (Chase, 1972). The "average" or below average boy by contrast must consider himself rather "puny."

Goldberg (1968) and Mischel (1974) were able to demonstrate that work attributed to females was considered less valuable than the same work attributed to men. However, what these studies also demonstrated was that men <u>are expected</u> to demonstrate superior abilities and accomplishments.

Luce (1967) fairly well summarizes the traditional conception

of masculinity; perhaps the same one that influenced the present sample of counselors.

> the characteristics of masculinity that emerge from the heroes of mass culture. Physical strength and courage, technical competence and a mental cleverness that is more manipulative than intellectual, and sexual interest in women, without personal involvement, seems to predominate. Other characteristics are prominent by their absence: anxiety, expression of tender feelings, aesthetic sensitivity, social responsibility, etc. The well rationalized use of violence in a variety of forms for supposedly justifiable, albeit wholly individualistic and selfish ends, is also a recurrent theme. The man is seen as active, aggressive, courageous, lusty and technically skillful. The image most often projected is of the single man, highly individualistic, without commitments of responsibilities, going it alone. He may be bought temporarily or be transiently involved with a woman, but sooner or later, he extricates himself and regains his full masculine stature which exists only in limbo (p. 62 (618)).

The characteristics of the male emerging from this study describe him as more aggressive and self-confident than the norm; as having less need for security and less gentle than the ideal standard, and as having feelings not easily hurt. He is expected to like math and science more and not be easily influenced. These are the expectations of the counselors.

Implications for Counseling

We have learned from Pringle (1973) that both male and female counselors tend to desire changing the low achieving behavior of males more so than of females. Assuming that counselors act on their expectations, this information paired with a major finding of this study reveal a position relative to males not commonly discussed. The male may be discriminated against in terms of what is expected of him.

The effect of sex-role stereotyping is one of limiting and constraining the individual's capacity. This is so not only for the

counselee but also the counselor. Once a position regarding a stereotype has been adopted the individual tends to selectively perceive only new information that confirms the stereotype. The subtle nature of stereotypes make them difficult to eliminate.

The shift in position relative to the expectations of the female represents a giant step from the traditional stereotyped role. The counselors have demonstrated flexibility of attitude indicating good prognosis for future change. The fact that counselors defined the mature, healthy, socially competent male and female in terms of identical characteristics is an indication that counselors view their male and female clients as "people." In light of the findings of this study it may be reasonable to assume that the stereotypic attitude that the male be expected to possess some of these characteristics to a greater degree is also subject to modification. It would seem then, that all that is needed here is a word of caution. Counselors must be careful to monitor their expectations with respect to male counselees.

One other implication would involve counselor educators. The fact that counselors are continually updating their skills provides an opportunity for the colleges and universities to make a contribution toward the elimination of sex-role stereotyping in our schools. The universities can and should provide the platform whereby counselors examine their attitudes and expectations of "people." They should further make available the opportunity for research along these lines.

Summary

The findings of the present study stand in contrast to previous studies. Three major findings emerged. First, counselors' descriptions

of mature, healthy, socially competent adults, males and females are identical. Second, the female was not described in traditional stereotypic fashion.

Third, although the descriptive characteristics of the male, female and adult standard were found to be the same, the counselors' expectations of the male were found to be significantly more demanding. Some of the characteristics ascribed to the healthy, mature, socially competent male represent a more extreme personality type. Therefore, it was concluded that the male may be in a discriminatory position.

Finally, another conclusion of import was that counselors are flexible and it is reasonable to expect that they can correct any stereotypic images they may hold of the male.

Recommendations for Further Study

The finding that counselors' expectations of the characteristics of men and women were not different is a departure from previous research and needs to be further verified. The suggestion here that males may be in a discriminatory position relative to counselors' expectations also needs to be verified.

Since there is a discrepancy in the method of scoring between the present study and the original on which it was based the investigator recommends further study using another instrument. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) may be a valuable tool.

It is further recommended that research be designed to examine male stereotyping and the concomitant aspects thereof.

Summary

The present study has examined counselors' judgments about sex-role stereotyping. The major findings were not those expected. The expected characteristics of the male and the female were found to be in the same direction on the bipolar continuum. The female stereotype was not found to be unfavorable as compared with the adult standard. The male stereotype might be judged as too demanding.

It is hoped that this investigation will prove valuable to counselors and counselor educators as a means of sharpening their perceptions of the stereotyping of the male. The whole area of male stereotyping has received little research attention. Hopefully this investigation may prove to be only one of many. More research is needed.

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Appendix A

Stereotypic Sex-Role Items*

Competency Cluster: Masculine pole is more desirable	
Feminine	Masculine
Not at all aggressive	Very aggressive
Not at all independent	Very independent
Very emotional	Not at all emotional
Does not hide emotions at all	Almost always hides emotions
Very subjective	Very objective
Very easily influenced	Not at all easily influenced
Very submissive	Very dominant
Dislikes math and science very much	Likes math and science very much
Very excitable in a minor crisis	Not at all excitable in a minor crisis
Very passive	Very active
Not at all competitive	Very competitive
Very illogical	Very logical
Very home oriented	Very worldly
Not at all skilled in business	Very skilled in business
Very sneaky	Very direct
Does not know the way of the world	Knows the way of the world
Feelings easily hurt	Feelings not easily hurt
Not at all adventurous	Very adventurous
Has difficulty making decisions	Can make decisions easily
Cries very easily	Never cries
Almost never acts as a leader	Almost always acts as a leader
Not at all self-confident	Very self-confident
Very uncomfortable about being aggressive	Not at all uncomfortable about being aggressive
Not at all ambitious	Very ambitious
Unable to separate feelings from ideas	Easily able to separate feelings from ideas
Very dependent	Not at all dependent
Very conceited about appearance	Never conceited about appearance

Warmth-Expressiveness Cluster: Feminine pole is more desirable	
Feminine	Masculine
Very talkative	Not at all talkative
Very tactful	Very blunt
Very gentle	Very rough

*Broverman et al., 1972, p. 62.

Stereotypic Sex-Role Items (Continued)

Warmth-Expressiveness Cluster: Feminine pole is more desirable	
Feminine	Masculine
Very aware of feelings of others	Not at all aware of feelings of others
Very religious	Not at all religious
Very interested in own appearance	Not at all interested in own appearance
Very neat in habits	Very sloppy in habits
Very quiet	Very loud
Very strong need for security	Very little need for security
Enjoys art and literature	Does not enjoy art and literature at all
Easily expresses tender feelings	Does not express tender feelings at all easily

We would like to know something about what counselors expect other people to be like. Imagine that you are going to meet someone for the first time, and the only thing that you know in advance is that this person is a mature, healthy, socially competent adult. Circle the number that best describes that person.

For example: This person does not care much for the color red.

	Strong dislike for the color red	3	(2)	1	1	2	3	Strong liking for the color red
1	Not at all aggressive	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very aggressive
2	Not at all independent	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very independent
3	Very emotional	3	2	1	1	2	3	Not at all emotional
4	Does not hide emotions at all	3	2	1	1	2	3	Almost always hides emotions
5	Very subjective	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very objective
6	Not at all easily influenced	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very easily influenced
7	Not at all talkative	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very talkative
8	Very dominant	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very submissive
9	Dislikes math and science very much	3	2	1	1	2	3	Likes math and science very much
10	Not at all excitable in a minor crisis	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very excitable in a minor crisis
11	Very active	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very passive
12	Very blunt	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very tactful
13	Very aware of the feelings of others	3	2	1	1	2	3	Not at all aware of the feelings of others
14	Not at all religious	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very religious
15	Not at all interested in own appearance	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very interested in own appearance
16	Can make decisions easily	3	2	1	1	2	3	Has difficulty making decisions
17	Never cries	3	2	1	1	2	3	Cries very easily
18	Almost never acts as a leader	3	2	1	1	2	3	Almost always acts as a leader
19	Very neat in habits	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very sloppy in habits
20	Very quiet	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very loud
21	Very gentle	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very rough
22	Not at all competitive	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very competitive
23	Very logical	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very illogical
24	Very worldy	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very home oriented
25	Not at all skilled in business	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very skilled in business
26	Very direct	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very sneaky
27	Knows the way of the world	3	2	1	1	2	3	Does not know the way of the world
28	Feelings not easily hurt	3	2	1	1	2	3	Feelings easily hurt
29	Not at all adventurous	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very adventurous
30	Not at all self-confident	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very self-confident
31	Not at all uncomfortable about being aggressive	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very uncomfortable about being aggressive
32	Very little need for security	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very strong need for security
33	Not at all ambitious	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very ambitious
34	Able to separate feelings from ideas	3	2	1	1	2	3	Unable to separate feelings from ideas
35	Not at all dependent	3	2	1	1	2	3	Very dependent
36	Does not enjoy art and literature at all	3	2	1	1	2	3	Enjoys art and literature very much
37	Easily expresses tender feelings	3	2	1	1	2	3	Does not express tender feelings easily
38	Very conceited about appearance	3	2	1	1	2	3	Never conceited about appearance

In reporting this research the following data is desirable in describing the population responding to this questionnaire.

Age: ____ Sex: M F Ethnic group: _____ Marital status: _____

Highest level of education completed: _____ Year of last degree: _____

Number of years counseling: _____ Number of years teaching: _____

Year of most recent college course: _____ Do you have a preferred counseling theory? yes no If yes please indicate: _____

Appendix C

HELP

HELP

Counselor HELP needed!

Graduate student engaged in a research study seeks assistance from the HELPing profession. Your opinion is needed!

(Graduation depends on research completion.)

PLEASE

Your response to the enclosed questionnaire would greatly facilitate this research and further assure a representative cross section of California counselors. Your district and your name were chosen at random.

THANK YOU

Your assistance is greatfully appreciated. You will have helped nudge a student closer to graduation and also have added to a body of knowledge in the counseling field.

My gratitude is sincere for I realize that credit for any achievement on my part is due to many individuals and not a solo effort.

Very humbly I THANK YOU.

Sue

Sue Grossman

*p.s. This donation is a token of my gratitude and sincerity.

*Omitted from letters sent without checks.

Appendix D

TABLE 6

Adult Male and Female Mean Scores
for Stereotypic Items

Item	Adult	Male	Female
Not at all agressive	3.85	4.20	4.17 [a]
Not at all independent	4.73	4.83	4.46 [b]
Very emotional	3.27	3.37	3.37
Does not hide emotions	3.10	3.35	2.88 [b]
Very subjective	3.98	4.15	4.18
Not easily influenced	3.92	4.32	4.22 [a]
Not at all talkative	2.83	2.78	3.03
Very dominant	4.02	4.08	4.02
Dislikes math and science	3.64	4.06	3.64 [ab]
Not excitable in minor crisis	4.48	4.63	4.38
Very active	4.78	4.88	4.85
Very blunt	2.85	2.92	2.62
Aware of feelings of others	1.88	2.12	1.88
Not at all religious	3.44	3.46	3.33
Not interested in own appearance	2.67	2.48	2.03 [bee]
Can make decisions easily	4.75	4.95	4.62
Never cries	3.83	4.06	3.53 [bb]
Almost never acts as leader	4.36	4.52	4.43
Very neat in habits	2.52	2.32	1.98 [bee]
Very quiet	3.42	3.62	3.30 [b]

TABLE 6 (Continued)

Item	Adult	Male	Female
Very gentle	2.43	2.82	2.53 [a]
Not at all competitive	4.15	4.45	4.42
Very logical	4.63	4.47	4.68
Very worldly	4.02	3.81	4.20 [d]
Not skilled in business	4.02	4.32	4.28
Very direct	4.92	4.73	4.85
Knows way of the world	4.64	4.85	4.69
Feelings not easily hurt	4.22	4.57	4.07 [b]
Not at all adventurous	4.45	4.72	4.73
Not self-confident	4.80	5.18	4.88 [a]
Not uncomfortable being aggressive	4.28	4.47	4.02 [b]
Little need for security	3.47	3.98	3.45 [aa] [bb]
Not at all ambitious	4.55	4.65	4.60
Able to separate feelings from ideas	4.61	4.93	4.87
Not at all dependent	4.12	4.39	4.22
Does not enjoy art and literature	2.41	2.47	2.31
Easily expresses tender feelings	2.59	2.48	2.32
Conceited about appearance	3.78	3.93	3.81

Differences between means were analyzed with Tukey's test statistic.

[a] m>a $p<.05$

[b] m>f $p<.05$

[e] a>f $p<.05$

[d] f>m $p<.05$

[aa] m>a $p<.01$

[bb] m>f $p<.01$

[ee] a>f $p<.01$